

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXV

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PREFACE

This volume publishes editions by Professor Herwig Maehler and Professor Cornelia Römer, by their students at University College London, and by participants in the London Summer School of Papyrology organised by Professor Römer in July 2003. Professor Römer takes this opportunity to thank all those who took part, whether as teachers or as students, in the Summer School, and the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, which made its premises available free of charge for the occasion.

Section I offers mainly devotional texts which reflect the practice of Egyptian Christians in the early Byzantine period: hymns and prayers, some or all of which may have served also as amulets. Section II contains fragments from two substantial pieces of unknown prose, in copies of the second/third century AD, the first probably a declamation on classical history or myth, the second perhaps a discursive dialogue about political constitutions. Section III collects fragments of extant authors, with a typical range of new readings and new corruptions; the largest group (5035–45) comprises all the unpublished papyri of Pindar's extant works so far identified in the collection, which contribute much detailed information about the early transmission of text and colometry.

Section IV publishes documents ranging from the first to the ninth century AD. Among the loans, sales, receipts and orders, note the sale of the slave Kale Phasis (5051), and the elaborately detailed sale and cession of a vineyard and other parcels (5058). A deed of surety (5064) illustrates relations between a perfume-seller and his guild. A sale of wine on delivery (5069) introduces a black freedman and his former master, a monk who had been a *primicerius* of the *schola singulariorum*. 5066, 5069 and 5070 touch directly or indirectly upon the Apion estates. The private letters provide the usual scatter of insights. We gain a new *dies augusta* (5049) and a rare dating by the reign of Otho (5050); a possible ancestor of Modern Greek *αμ(μ)ή*, and a specific reference to a papyrus roll of twenty sheets (5063). We get also a worm's-eye view of private citizens as they manipulate the legal system for daily business: putting a lien on an evasive tenant (5054), laying hands on the minutes of a court-case (5055), countering the manoeuvres of a recalcitrant debtor (5062).

The contributions of Drs Hatzilambrou, Litinas, Montserrat and Syrkou derive from doctoral theses directed by Professor Maehler; that of Dr Malouta from a thesis directed by Professor Parsons. In revising their texts, Dr Hatzilambrou acknowledges the substantial contribution of Professor J. D. Thomas (especially in 5058), Dr Malouta that of Dr R. A. Coles. The texts of Montserrat and Syrkou have been updated and substantially reworked by Dr N. Gonis. The texts from the Summer School have taken shape under the supervision of Professor Römer. Parsons made the final redaction of the volume as a whole, and he takes responsibility for all errors and misjudgments.

We are grateful to Ms Susan Beresford, who compiled the index to Section I and also proofread Sections I–III of the text; Ms Antonia Sarri, who compiled the index to Section II; and Dr Amin Benaissa, to whom we owe the indexes to Section IV. Dr Daniela Colomo gave invaluable assistance in checking the manuscript and the proofs. The plates derive from images created by Spiro Vranjes.

At the last stage, Dr Jeffrey Dean edited copy and set type with wonderful resource and precision, and the Charlesworth Group produced the volume with their usual efficiency. The whole enterprise would have been impossible without the continuing support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and of the British Academy.

January 2010

P. J. PARSONS

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MB = M. Buchholz	RC = R.-L. Chang	CF = C. Fuhrmann	MdG = M. de Groote
MG = M. Gerhardt	LG = L. Guichard	AH = A. Hartmann	RH = R. Hatzilambrou
PJ = P. James	IK = I. Karamanou	RK = R. Kritzer	BL = B. Laudénbach
DL = D. Leith	NL = N. Litinas	KL = K. Lubitz	HM = H. Maehler
MM = M. Malouta	FM = F. Maltomini	GM = G. del Mastro	DM = †D. Montserrat
TM = T. Murgatroyd	OP = O. Pelcer	CP = C. Pernigotti	CR = C. Römer
AS = A. Syrkou			

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτᾶβη) represents the symbol ᾶ, <i>ετρ</i> (ατηγός) represents the abbreviation <i>ετρς</i>
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
˘αβγ˘	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, ⁵2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

5020. LXX, JUDITH 6.16–17, 7.1–2

105/166 (b)

4.3 × 5.8 cm

Fourth century

A fragment of a leaf from a papyrus codex, broken on all sides, containing parts of chapters six and seven of Judith with the remains of 8 lines on each side. The number of preserved letters varies between 3 letters in line 8 (↓ and →) and 10 to 11 letters in lines 4 to 6 (↓ and →). Collation with the text of the LXX suggests an average number of 36 letters per line. The text lost between lines ↓8 and →1 may have been contained in approximately 12 lines. Consequently we have to assume a wide single column with up to 40 letters and approximately 20 lines per page. Those 20 lines would have resulted in a height of approximately 14.5 cm and a width of 17.2 cm. Adding inner and outer margins as well as upper and lower margins of about 2 cm each, the total measurement of the codex page would have been about 21 cm × 18.5 cm. On these figures our codex can be placed in Turner's 'group 4' (c.20 × 25 cm), where XIII **1599** (Hermas, 4th century, Turner's no. 535 = van Haelst 667) may be the closest parallel; cf. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 16.

Letters are of medium size and written in a semi-documentary hand, partly inclined to the right. We find ligatures between *a* and *ι* (→5 *και*), and between the long middle stroke of *ε*, the horizontal strokes of *τ* and *ς*, and the following letters (↓4, 6; →4, 5). Bilinearity is often violated: *β*, *ι*, *κ*, *ρ*, *γ*, and *φ* descend below the lower line, *ω* is small and high in line (→2, but at line-level ↓6). Further characteristics are the triangular *α*, oval *ο* and *ς*, and broad *η* and *κ*. There is an apostrophe after *ανηρ* (→7), probably by the same hand but added later; on this kind of apostrophe, see Turner, *GMAW*² pp. 11 and 108. A date in the fourth century is suggested.

Apart from our fragment, there are only two other attestations from Late Antiquity for the book of Judith: one fragment of a parchment codex of the fifth/sixth century (Jdth. 2.19) from Damascus, now lost (K. Treu, 'Majuskelbruchstücke der Septuaginta aus Damaskus', *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 8 (1966) 11 f. = van Haelst 79, Rahlfs–Fraenkel p. 64), and a late-third-century ostrakon from the Fayum (Jdth. 15.1–7) (J. Schwartz, 'Un fragment du livre de Judith', *RB* 53 (1946) 534–7 = van Haelst 80, Rahlfs–Fraenkel p. 165).

Collated with R. Hanhart, *Judith* (*Septuaginta* viii/4, 1979). Since no lateral margins survive, the line-divisions in the restored transcript below are *exempli gratia* only.

↓

.
].[
 κ]αι Χαρμις [και συνεκαλεσαν 6.15/16
 παντας τους π]ρεσβυτε[ρους της πολεως και
 συνεδραμον] πας νεαρις[κος αυτων και
 5 αι γυναικες ει]ς την εκκλησια[ν και εστησαν
 τον αχιωρ εν μ]εσω παντος το[υ λαου αυτων και
 επηρωτησεν αυ]τον Οζιας το συ[μβεβηκος και απο- 17
 κριβεις απηγγει]λεν αυτ[οις τα ρηματα της συνε-
 δριας Ολοφερνο]υ κα[ι

→

.
 τη δε επαυριον παρηγγειλεν Ολ]οφερν[ης παση τη 7.1
 στρατια αυτου και παντι τ]ω λαω α[υτου οι παρε-
 γενοντο επι την συμμαχι]αν αυτου α[ναζευγνυ-
 ειεν επι Βαιτυλονα κ]αι τας αναβας[εις της ορει-
 5 νης] και ποιειν π[ολεμον προς 2
 τους υιους Ισραηλ και α]νεζευξεν εν [τη ημερα ε-
 κεινη] ανηρ' κ[αι η δυνα
 μις αυτων ανδρων πολεμιστω]ν χιλ[ιαδες

↓ 2 Χαρμις υἱὸς Μελχιηλ codd. LXX: υἱὸς Μελχιηλ apparently omitted.

→ 5 προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι (codd. LXX) would be too long for the available space; either προκαταλαβέσθαι (55) or καταλαμβάνεσθαι (126; cf. 2, 25) would fit.

6-7 και ανεζευξεν εν τη ημερα εκεινη πας ανηρ δυνατος αυτων· και codd. LXX: the papyrus seems to have had και α]νεζευξεν εν [τη ημερα εκεινη αυτων πας δυνατος] ανηρ' κ[αι.

K. LUBITZ

5021. PSALM XC 12-16 AND EXCERPTS FROM ODES 7 AND 8

97/162b

10 × 14 cm

Fifth century

Single leaf of a small papyrus codex, of which the upper ↓ and left/right margins remain (to c.1.5 cm and c.1.0 cm respectively); there is only one line missing at the bottom. The line length can be calculated at 16-20 letters per line, very approximately 9-9.5 cm. The original dimensions of the codex may thus have been c.13 × 18 cm, which corresponds to Turner's Group 9, Aberrant 1 (*Typology* 22). The

text on ↓ precedes the one on →. If the sign at the top of ↓ is a page numbering, the codex must have contained at least 8 pages, the page numbering being written on the upper left margin of the right page. The first part of Psalm xc alone would have covered nearly two more leaves.

The majuscule writing is clumsy and lacks any formality; the scribe did not master an even flow of ink, nor was he bothered by the split nib of his pen, which adds to the ugly appearance of some letters. The ornamentation at the end of Psalm xc on → is rough. The letters betray a scribe who had no practice in copying books; he is more impressive when he writes cursive forms, as in the lower part of →. Also where the scribe writes single letter forms, ε is executed in two movements. A similarly careless hand can be found in VII 1059, a prayer, which is dated to the end of the fifth century by the cursive writing on the back (Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEBP* 21a).

There are numerous spelling mistakes; word division does not follow any rule. Neither lectional signs nor *nomina sacra* appear; stichometry is not observed.

Psalm xc was prominently used as a protective charm on amulets; its combination with other biblical texts is attested already several times; cf. e.g. P. Duk. inv. 778 (LDAB 2992), Ps. xc, heading of Ps. xci, the Lord's Prayer and a doxology: *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 with further parallels in footnotes 4-5 and an appendix about Ps. xc on papyrus, etc.; cf. also P. Schøyen I 16 (LDAB 2994), with Psalm xc, the Pater Noster and the Apostolic Greeting in a similarly ugly hand. See further LXXIII 4931 introd. However, it seems unlikely that 5021 was used as an amulet in a strict sense, carried on the body in some way. The dimensions of the codex and the fact that there must have been more pages than the one preserved rather point to a possible use as a private vade-mecum that could be consulted when the person carrying the little book felt the need to reassure his or her strength in front of physical or mental dangers. The excerpt from Ode 7, the *Prayer of Azarias*, and Ode 8, the *Song of the Three Boys in the Furnace*, support this interpretation.

The text has been collated against A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (*Septuaginta* x, 2¹⁹⁶⁷), and Joseph Ziegler, *Susanna; Daniel; Bel et Draco* (*Septuaginta* xvi/2, 1954).

↓

].

]η

ν αρουσιω ε[ε] μη[ποτε]

Ps. xc 12a/b

προσκοψης προ[οσ λιθου]

τογ ποδα{ν} σου [επ ασπι-]

13a

δια και βασιλι[σκον επ-]

5 ιβρηση και καταπα[τησεις]

13b

λεοντα και δρακον[τα]

οτι επ εμε ηλπισεν [και]

14a

The language is unspecific; what may look like doctrinal statements seem rather to be the result of an intention to string together words that the poet may have heard in church. The wording of this hymn is already known from the more accurately written leather P. Mich. 799 (P. Mich. XIX ed. by D. Martinez in 1999), where it is intertwined with a *Trisagion* and a *Chairetismos*. Some lines of **5022** can only be understood from this parallel, even though in some cases doubts remain whether the same meaning had been intended. In some verses **5022** may have preserved the more authentic text using a finite verb instead of a participle/infinite (ll. 6 and 8).

The Michigan leather is dated to the 7th century; no secure provenance is known. The leather contains 31 lines and comprises three different hymns, which are all elaborations of the well known *Trisagion* from Isaiah 6.3 ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. The wording of **5022** recurs in the first of the three hymns (ll. 1–8). The parallel may give us an interesting insight into the laboratories of late-antique hymn writers, who took older, very simple poems to combine them in more elaborate products; Martinez saw in P. Mich. XIX ‘certainly a case of *contaminatio*—a pre-existent acrostic poem with the *Trisagion* interposed upon it’. This procedure is clearly visible in the way in which the *Trisagion* refrain at times interrupts the syntactic flow of the main hymn (cf. ll. 3–5).

5022

[Αστ]ηρ επουρα[ιος //]

[Βασι]λια σουμ. [//]

[Γενν]ατε ω Ει[ησο]υς//[

[Δια] λογοῦ . . .] ους //

5 [Εκ πα]ρθενου Μαρια //

Ζωη[ν ε]χαρισατο //

Ηρω[δη]ς εσπουζα. [

Θεον εδιωξεν //

Ιωαννης εβαπτιζετε //

10 Κυριον τον θεον //

Λαος εσυναγαγε //

Μαρτηρον και π. [. . .] ου //

P. Mich. XIX (standardized)

ἀστὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ

βασιλέα σημαίνει.

ἅγιος ὁ θεός,

γεννᾶται Ἰησοῦς(ς)

διὰ λόγου θεοῦ

ἅγιος ἰσχυρός,

ἐκ παρθένου Μαρίας(ς),

ζωὴν δωρούμενος.

ἅγιος ἀθάνατος

Ἡρώδης ἐσπούδασεν

Θεὸν ἀποκτείνειν.

ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν

ἐλέησον(ν) ἡμᾶς.

Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν

κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν.

ἅγιος ὁ θεός,

λαοὶ συνήχθησαν

μαρτύρων καὶ προφητῶν.

ἅγιος ἰσχυρός,

Νύκτι παρεδω[//]

Ξ. [

νυκτὶ παρεδόθη

ξύλω δ(ν ε)σταύρωσαν.

ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, . . .

A star in heaven / heralds the king. / Jesus is born / through the word echoing from God (?) / from the virgin Mary; / he gave the gift of life. / Herod hastened, / he persecuted God. / John baptized / the Lord God. / He brought together Hosts / of Martyrs and prophets. / By night he was betrayed (?) . . . (or: He gathered the people. / Martyrdom and the cup / he handed over on the night) /

2 [Βασι]λια σουμ. [(perhaps σουμα[νει, if μ and α were crowded together; perhaps σουμε[νει, if the ink immediately after μ is accidental): βασιλεα σουμει P. Mich.: 1. βασιλέα σημαίνει? Then lines 1–2 refer to *Ev. Matt.* 2.2 ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα λέγοντες· ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ. The word σημαίνει may point here to the prophetic fulfillment; cf. its usage in the astrological controversy, εἰ τὰ ἄστρα ποιεῖ ἢ σημαίνει: e. g. Clem. Alex., *Ecl. Proph.* 55. 2 (III 152.18f. Stachlin) οὐδ' ὄναρ τὰς ἐνεργείας ποιεῖ τὰ ἄστρα, σημαίνει δὲ τὰ τ' ἔοντα τὰ τ' ἐκκόμμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα (cf. E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben*, 1916, 72–6; D. Martinez in commentary). An alternative interpretation of line 2 would be βασιλέα σου μενεῖ, but that does not cohere so well with line 1 (cf. *Ev. Matt.* 6.9?).

3–5 The three lines hang together in one sentence; Christ's birth (3) happened through the word of god (4) from the virgin Mary (5).

3 [Γενν]ατε ω Ει[ησο]υς: 1. [Γενν]αται ὁ Ἰ[ησο]υς. But the spacing would more easily allow [Γεν(ν)]ατε.

4 [Δια] λογοῦ . . .] ους: . . . [two rounded verticals, and perhaps a further trace on the broken edge;], tip of rising oblique at high level. θε[οῦ seems likely on account of the parallel, but that would leave us with], ους at the line end. Was θε[ση]χοῦς intended? The word is very rare (Lampe quotes one example of *θεσηχός* from Tarasius; TLG one example of *θεόηχος* in a hymn, one from Theodore Studites which might belong to either termination; *θεοεικής* is not attested). *θεσηχός* may have been the original wording, since γεννᾶται Ἰησοῦς διὰ λόγου θεοῦ ἐκ παρθένου Μαρίας 'Jesus is born through the word of God from the virgin Mary' is theologically not unproblematic. Jesus is the Logos. By combining λόγος with *θεσηχός* the verse refers to the scene of the Annunciation, in which Mary receives the word of God through the mouth of the angel. *θεσηχός* avoids the equation of Logos and Christ.

5 1. Μαρίας.

6 Faith brings eternal life to the faithful; cf. *Ev. Jo.* 10.28 ἀκολουθοῦσίν μοι, καὶ γὰρ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, and 1 *Ep. Jo.* 5.11 καὶ αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ μαρτυρία, ὅτι ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν. Closer in phrasing is *Pastor Hermae* 105.6 (Whittaker 97) ζωὴν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος χαρίζεται.

7–8 Herod persecuted God; cf. *Ev. Matt.* 4.16ff. P. Mich. has ἀποκτείνειν, which Martinez interpreted as an infinitive ἀποκτείνειν, but the indicative of **5022** is perhaps closer to the original phrasing; a similarly short phrasing is found in Athanasius, *Hom. de semente*, PG 28.156 ἔδωκε τὸν Δαβὶδ Καοὺλ, ἔδωκε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἡρώδης. Ἄλλ' οὕτε ὁ Καοὺλ διώκων τὸν Δαβὶδ ἐβλαψεν, οὕτε Ἡρώδης διώκων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐβλαψεν. In that case, P. Mich. may have intended ἀπέκτεινεν.

9–10 εβαπτιζετε for ἐβάπτισεν. The parallel shows, that the active form was intended; this seems more likely than to think of Ἰωάννης εβαπτίζετο 'John had himself baptized', followed by Κύριος ὁ Θεός in 10, which would provide the subject for the following. **5022** does not have the ἡμῶν of P. Mich, which disturbs the number of stresses, but could be regarded as unaccented after a word

accented on the final syllable (Maas-Trypanis, edd., *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica genuina*, 1963, 512D, Martinez ad loc.).

11 *Λαος εὐναγαγε*, l. *λαὸν συνήγαγε*. The wording is different from P. Mich. here; for the striking example of a wrongly employed syllabic augment, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 252 (and 253 for examples with double augment). Or did the scribe intend ἐ(πι)συνήγαγε?

12 Below this line, in the left margin, two signs by a different hand, very faded: possibly λ, and underneath an ancora? This is the most difficult line in both versions. The annotation may refer to the problem involved.

12-13 *Μαρτηρον και π. [] . . . ον*. Perhaps *πρ[ο]φήτων*, i.e. *μαρτύρων και προφητῶν* as in P. Mich. (although the space seems short for *ητ*), but Martinez too had difficulties with this phrase, for which he did not find a parallel and which breaks the flow of the narrative (pp. 55-6). Before finding the parallel in P. Mich XIX, I thought of *μαρτύριον και πο[τ]ή[ρ]ιον* and therefore supplemented *παρέδω[κεν]* in 13, for which l. 12 would be the object, the sense being: Christ handed martyrdom and the chalice of suffering (cf. *Mart. Polycarpi* 14.2, Bihlmeyer 128) over to the disciples. In 13, *Νυκτι* makes one think of 'the night, when Christ was betrayed by Judas', *Ev. Matt.* 26.20ff. parall. *δψίας δὲ γενομένης ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. και ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με*. On the other hand, John Chrysostom uses the term *παρέδωκεν* for Christ's offering of the last supper (*In dictum Pauli: Oportet haereses esse*, PG 51.258.22) *δεσποτικὸν δείπνον, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔστι φαγεῖν· ἐκεῖνο λέγων τὸ δείπνον, ὃ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ νυκτὶ παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστός, ὅτε οἱ μαθηταὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἦσαν*. It seems rather to be the scene of the last supper that the poet had in mind. In this way, the flow of the narrative of Christ's sufferings would not be broken. L. 11 would be independent and refer to Christ's gathering the Christian people; cf. *Ep. Barn.* 3.6 (Bihlmeyer 12), *Pastor Hermae* 58.2 (Whittaker 56), unless the feeding of the people is meant (*Ev. Matt.* 14.15-21 parall.).

13 *παρέδω[κεν]*? See 12-13 n. But *παρεδο[θη]* may not be excluded.

C.E. RÖMER

5023-5024. PARCHMENT SLIPS

These two items are similar in format and content, as is a parchment housed in the Universitätsbibliothek at Leipzig (inv. 316; unpublished; a description was given by S. Richter in the catalogue of a small exhibition at the Institut für Ägyptologie in August 2007; TM-No. 112402). The piece in Leipzig (4 × 17 cm) contains psalm verses in Greek and Coptic, which are preceded by the numbers of the psalms from which the verses are taken. The general topic of that piece is the resurrection.

5023-4 show traces of folds, which the Leipzig piece does not; they may have been folded and carried as amulets or as *aides-mémoire*, so that the carrier could recapitulate the prayers in moments of need (had the Leipzig piece been rolled?). It looks as if the legibility of the writing was less important than the act of writing and the presence of the text on the object: in 5023 two texts are written one on top of the other, so that they are both hardly readable. The format of all three pieces may have been dictated by their purpose to be carried.

These two parchments were housed in a tin box separate from the main collection. It is possible that they were purchases, in which case there would be no guarantee that they were found at Oxyrhynchus.

5023. CHAIRETISMOS TO THE VIRGIN AND RELATED TEXTS

No inv. number

5 × 14.5 cm

Mid to late sixth century

Plate II

Strip of parchment, nearly complete, written on both sides. The flesh side has a *Chairetismos* to the Virgin, which continues over three lines on the back, after the parchment had been turned over head to foot (A). Below, a new text starts with the heading *oa = 71*; there follows a cento of verses from the Psalms (LXXI, LXXIX, and XLIV), chosen as referring to the Annunciation of the Virgin; these continue over some 14 lines, most of which are very difficult to read (B). The parchment was then turned round through 180° and used for a third text (C), which starts with a citation from Ode 9, the prayer of Zacharias, and continues over at least 9 more lines, which are nearly illegible, because they overlap with the last 6 lines of B. The photos produced in 2004 by the Multispectral Imaging Programme of Brigham Young University enhance the reading of at least some letters.

Titles between the sections of text indicate the musical mode or the number of the Psalm from which the verses are taken.

The scribe used brown ink on both sides; the letters, which observe some formality, lean to the right; the flow of ink is not controlled properly and produces very fine as well as thick strokes. Similarly untidy hands are found in XV 1812 (Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEBP* 31c), assigned to the mid 6th century, and XI 1374 (ibid. 42b), assigned to the late 6th century. However, this sort of 'sloping majuscule' enjoys a long history, exemplified in *GBEBP* 46b (first half of 7th century?) and 55a (end of 8th century?), and the earliest parallels for the modal signature come in papyri normally assigned to the 7th/8th centuries; see Flesh Side I, note.

A. The *Chairetismos*

There are quite a number of this kind of texts written on papyrus and ostraca from Egypt. Deriving from the Annunciation scene in Luke i 28, these hymns usually address the Virgin, but there is also a *chairetismos* to John the Baptist (Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1905) 404; van Haelst 920) and one to Shenoute (Pleyte-Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (1897) 259ff.; van Haelst 762).

5023 starts with 16 lines of introduction in which the singers join Gabriel and approach the Virgin to greet her together with the archangel (l. 14-16).

A similar "lyric" setting is to be found in the *Menologion* (1888-1901) (hereafter MR), ii 234, *Megalymarion* for November 21:

ἐν τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ τὸ χαῖρε τῇ Θεοτόκῳ προσφόρως ἀναβοήσωμεν πιστοί. χαῖρε
πάγκαλε νύμφη, χαῖρε . . .

Romanos Melodos gives a more elaborate version in the *Kontakion* for the Annunciation (Grosdidier de Matons IX; cf. R. A. Fletcher, 'Three Early Byzantine Hymns and their Place in Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople', *BZ* 51 (1958) 53–65), Strophe *a*; in the next strophe, there begins a dialogue between the Virgin and the archangel:

τῷ ἀρχαγγέλω Γαβριὴλ δεῦτε καὶ συμπορευθῶμεν πρὸς τὴν παρθένον Μαρίαν
καὶ ταύτην ἀσπασώμεθα ὡς μητέρα καὶ τροφήν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.
οὔτε γὰρ μόνῳ πρόπον τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν βασιλίδα ἀσπασάσθαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ἕξεστι ταύτην ἰδεῖν καὶ προφθέγγασθαι
ἦν ὡς μητέρα θεοῦ αἱ γενεαὶ πᾶσαι μακαρίζουσαι βοῶσι
χαίρε ἀκήρατε, χαίρε κόρη θεόκλητε.

The *epikleseis* used in **5023** are not all from the usual stock (cf. the list in E. C. Topping, 'The Annunciation in Byzantine Hymns', *Marianum* 47/3 (1985) 443–69; for the 'lyric' setting of such hymns, see p. 450). The brevity of the single *epikleseis* is comparable with the *epikleseis* in a hymn on a wooden board in the Martin-von-Wagner collection (W. Brashear, H. Quecke, 'Ein Holzbrett mit zweisprachigen Hymnen auf Christus und Maria', *Enchoria* 17 (1990) 1–19). In the commentary here, I give parallels from the hymn-books only in cases where rare words are used.

Flesh side

	χ ἦ β	ἦχ(ο) β
	δευτεπανδῆ· οἰχ·	δεῦτε πανδῆ· οἰχ·
	συντουάρχαγγε	σὺν τῷ ἀρχαγγέ-
	λου· πρόστῆνθε	λω πρὸς τὴν θε-
5	οτὸκονυμνοῖς	οτόκον ὕμνοῖς
	δοξάσωμεν // ι	δοξάσωμεν // ι-
	δούνητουσις	δουὺν τοῦ ὑψίς-
	τουδ' ἡξίεντη	του δ' ἡξί ἐν τῇ
	μητέρα σου· πανα	μητέρα σου· πανα-
10	γιααπιρογαμε·	για ἀπειρόγαμε·
	γαβρι/ευεγ' γελισατ'	Γαβρι(ηλ) εὐγγελισατ' <ο>
	· ενσυ// πασαταε	· ενσυ// πασαταε
	... τονουῶν	... τον οὐ(ρά)νιον
	... χαίρεσυρ·	τὸ "χαίρε σύ" κραυ-
15	· α· ομεν· πρός	γάζωμεν πρὸς
	αὐτης· χαίρε	αὐτήν· χαίρε
	μαριααπιρο	Μαρία ἀπειρό-
	γαμε· χαίρεα	γαμε· χαίρε ἀ-

	πιρανδρεδεε	πείρανδρε δέε-
20	πινα· χαιρεπα	ποινα· χαίρε πα-
	νασπιλεκ(αι)αμω	νασπίλη κ(αι) ἄμω-
	μοι· χαιρεαγνη	με· χαίρε ἀγνή
	κ(αι)θεοτοκ(αι)· χαι	κ(αι) θεοτόκε· χαι-
	ρεμονεκ(αι)πα	ρε μόνη κ(αι) πα-
25	νυμνειται·	νύμνητε·
	χαιρεγορεαμι	χαίρε κόρη ἀμί-
	ανται· χαιρεκι	αντε· χαίρε κι-
	βουτετηνοερα·	βωτὲ ἡ νόερά·
	πρεσβεουσαυ	πρεσβεύουσα ὑ-
30	περημων· -	πὲρ ἡμῶν· -

Hair side

1	χαίρε κ(αι)χαριτου	χαίρε κεχαριτω-
	μένη ο κτ με	μένη, ὁ κ(ύριο)ς με-
	τα σου > ●●	τὰ σου > ●●

'Mode II (Mode IV Plagal?). Hither, — with the archangel to the Mother of God, let us praise her with hymns. Behold, you shall receive in your womb the son of the Highest, all-holy virgin! Gabriel brought the good news . . . let us cry "Hail to you!" Hail, Mary, never married! Hail, lady who has never known a man! Hail, all faultless and blameless! Hail, holy and mother of God! Hail, unique and all-hymned! Hail, maiden undefiled! Hail, intelligent vessel, interceding on our behalf! Hail, blessed one, the Lord with you!'

Flesh side

1 ἦχ(ο) β. One of the eight Byzantine modes: see E. Wellesz, *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (1961) 300–3; for similar 'modal signatures' in later MSS, J. Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia 7, 1966)*. We are indebted to Professor Peter Jeffery (University of Notre Dame) for this reference and for the material in the following paragraph:

Modal signatures occur in several other, relatively early, manuscripts from Egypt, all on papyrus: (1) BKT VI 6.2 (LDAB 6642; Seider II ii 71), Christmas stanza for Ode 1, *echos* 4. (2) P. Amh. I 9, re-edited by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 275–8 (LDAB 6700), *kathisma*, plagal 4. (3) P. Ryl. III 466 (LDAB 6696; Seider II ii 70, *GBEBP* 53a), *kanon*, plagal 1. (4) PSI IX 1096 (LDAB 6658, *GBEBP* 53c), hymn, *echos* 1. All four have been assigned dates of 7th/8th century (for the redating of no. 4, see *GBEBP* p. 116). The datings must be taken, as always, with a pinch of salt. But notice that (1) and (4) have Arabic on the back, (3) Arabic expunged and overwritten with Greek. The Arabic texts naturally postdate the Islamic conquest of Egypt in AD 639–42. Of course the *oktoechos* may have been in use earlier than this, at least outside Egypt. See e.g. S. S. R. Frøyshov in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51 no. 2–3 (2007) 139–78, who argues that the first elements of an eight-mode liturgical system appear in Jerusalem in the fifth century if not before (we owe this reference to Dr Alexander Lingas).

These signatures confine themselves to the mode; none of them shows the extended form

in which an added neume or group of neumes prefigures the intonation of the following text (see Raasted loc. cit. 8).

In 5023 the signature is uncertainly read. If β interprets the ink correctly (the same heading in text C in this parchment), the letters later in the same line, δ . . . , must be taken as a suprascript addition to line 2. However, the β here would be more clumsy and deformed than in the heading of C. As an alternative, we have considered reading ἡχ(οc) πλ(άγιος) δ. In that case, we have to account for the apparent traces after δ. They do not look like a neume-signature; they might perhaps come from a numeral-stroke, / or //. However, this reading does not account for the horizontal stroke that closes the base of the supposed λ. Professor Jeffery suggests, very plausibly, that the scribe first intended to write pi over lambda for πλ(αγιος), but realized his mistake after writing only the pi, then attempted to convert the pi into a beta by adjoining the lower loop.

In 1–15 the text has been marked up sporadically with accent-like signs, ‘ ‘ . Presumably these belong to a system of musical notation. Something similar, though more elaborate and more systematically applied, has been observed in other late texts from Egypt: see the discussion of P. Ryl. Copt. 25–9 by I. Papathanasiou and N. Boukas in G. Wolfram (ed.), *Palaeobyzantine Notations III* (2004) 1–25.

2 πανδξ' οιχ. Was πάντες οἰχώμεθα intended? Cf. Romanos Melodos (cited above); but δεῦτε followed by πρόσ can also stand without a verb in the subjunctive. Or πάντες οἱ χρι(στ)ιανοί? Or a corrupt version of πάντες οἱ λαοί? In both cases we need καί in 5 and αὐτήν in 6. Alternatively, if 'δε' belongs to line 1, consider πάνοι (l. πάνυ) χ(αί)ροντες?

6–10 Cf. Luke i 31 καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν. The poet has combined several aspects with an epiclesis of the Virgin.

11 Γαβρι(η)λ. Apparently ΓΑΒΡΙ, with a rising diagonal crossing 1 near the base (abbreviation stroke).

18–19 χαίρε ἀπείρανδρε Θεόνομφε is the beginning of a song in the *Theotokarion*, ed. S. Eustratiades (1931) 81.

20–21 The rarely used word πανασπίλη also in an anonymous *Parakletikon* in *Analecta sacra* i, ed. J. B. Pitra (1876) 536; codex T has the *v.l.* πανάμωμε for πανασπίλη.

24 There are two examples of *Chairetismoi* starting with χαίρε, μόνη τεκοῦσα, MR ii 204 and iii 34.

27–8 The rather sophisticated formula κιβωτός νοερά for Mary also in the *Chairetismos* cited by Epiphanius in the spurious *Homilia in laudes Mariae deiparae* (MG 43.489.51) χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ἡ νοερά τῆς δόξης κιβωτός, and by John Chrysostom (also spurious), *In Christi natalem diem* (MG 61.737.50) χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη, νοερά τῆς δόξης κιβωτέ.

28 νοερά. After this perhaps dicolon, as in 30, or perhaps high stop, with a lower point that serves as diaeresis on the final υ of 29.

29–30 This makes the text a prayer of intercession; cf. 5024 18–23.

Hair side (parchment turned over head to foot)

1–3 Citation of Luke i 28. I have assumed that these lines continue the *chairetismos*, and that a new text begins with the Psalm-verses. However, Professor Jeffery suggests that the two sides of the slip are each self-contained (note the elaborate formal border below Flesh side 30), so that the citation of Luke and the citations of the Psalms belong to one and the same cento on the Annunciation.

B. Cento of Psalm verses

From the matins (Psalm LXXI 6) and mass (Psalm XLIV 12) of March 25 (Feast of the Annunciation). Psalm LXXIX 3b–4a is not listed among the verses to be sung on that day; cf. M. de Fenoyl, *Le Sanctoral copte* (1960) 134–6.

Hair side

	οα	οα
5	κ(αι)καταβησετε ωσιετοσεπι κ(αι)ωσιεταγο νεσταζουσι επιτηνγην	κ(αι) καταβήσεται ὡς ἕτερος ἐπὶ <πόκον> κ(αι) ὡσεὶ σταγό- νες <ε>τάζουσι(ν) ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
	— — —	— — —
10	οθ ... εγεροντηνδυ ... ε θεειc ... θ(εο)σεπιστρε...	οθ ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυ(ναστείαν) σου κ(αι) ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ σωσαι ἡμ- ᾶc ὁ θ(ε)c ἐπίστρεψον <ἡμᾶc>
	μδ	μδ
15	οτιεπεθυ ιc οβασιλειετου.....εστιν	ὅτι ἐπεθύμησε(ν) ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ καλ- λῶς σου ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κ(ύρι)ος σου.

4 a corrected from ω; οα, the number of the psalm from which one verse is cited in the following.

5–9 Psalm LXXI 6; the *Mariale* of St. Joseph the Hymnographer has this verse combined with the annunciation: καταβήσεται Χριστός ὡς ἕτερος ἐπὶ πόκον, ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου, θεοχαρίτωτε (PG 105.1137).

10–13 This seems to be Psalm LXXIX 3b–4a, but spacing and the interpretation of traces of ink are difficult in all three lines. The heading in 10 seems to indicate 79, though.

15–18 Psalm XLIV 12 following the number of the psalm in 14.

C. Prayer of Zacharias, etc.

The context seems to come from the New Testament, rather than from the Septuagint. The text is upside down in relation to B; after line 7, the text overlaps the last lines of text B.

Hair side

	χ ἡ β	ἡχ(οc) β
	επεσκ(αι)ψατο ημαc ανατο ληξυψουc	ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶc ἀνατο- λή ἐξ ὑψουc
5	τουπροδρομό[	τοῦ προδρομό(υ)

γαργεννησει
 βασιλειακ.
 εν

γαρ γεννήσει
 βασιλέα κ.

c.5 lines

λλ

15 οτησδ
 . . . χ̄ϛ

1 Indication of the musical mode; see Flesh Side 1 note.

2-4 This is from the prayer of Zacharias after the birth of John the Baptist (Luke i 78 = Ode 9.78) διὰ σπλάγχνα ἑλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους (79) ἐπιφάνει τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις τοῦ κατευθῆναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης. The ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους appears on many occasions in the hymn-books as a *troparion* or *hirmus* (cf. E. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae graecae* i (1960) 502).

5ff. Following Zacharias' prayer, John the Baptist's birth is obviously connected with Christ's birth, but no matching text can be found.

C. E. RÖMER

5024. PRAYER TO THE LORD THROUGH THE INTERCESSION OF THE LORD'S MOTHER

No inv. no.

6 × 18 cm

Sixth/early seventh century
 Plate VIII

Strip of parchment, nearly complete, with a 4-cm margin preserved at the bottom. The writing runs in 23 short lines on the flesh side; the hair side is blank.

The informal, though not inelegant, script was executed in brown ink with a thickish pen; the flow of ink is not always controlled properly. Letters lean slightly to the right; κ consists of two widely separated strokes, β is large with a straight baseline, ο is tiny. This script can be assigned to the late 6th/early 7th centuries (cf. Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEP* 42a and 42b).

Dots (whether intended as high or middle stops is not clear) separate the short phrases from each other. Organic diaeresis (in the form of a curved line) is written over initial ι and υ (16, 20); it is misplaced over ι in the middle of a word in 21. υ at line end is written as a horizontal high stroke. καί is abbreviated by prolonging the second element of κ into a long curving tail below the line.

The *nomen sacrum* κ(ύρι)ε (1, 22) is abbreviated in the usual way; ω(τη)ρία, not being a *nomen sacrum*, takes its form from the abbreviated ωτήρ (see 14 note).

The prayer consists of a biblical quotation (1-4, Psalm xxvii 9a-b) and contains phraseology from the NT and a sentence from the Liturgy of St Mark (14-17).

It asks for the salvation of sinners, for the Nile flood in its right measure, and for mercy.

The clear language is distorted by a strong iotacism. These and other errors have been tacitly corrected in the interpretative transcript below.

	<p>ωσων κ̄ετονλαον σου κ̄ευλογησ[την κληρονομ[αν σου κ̄ζωοποιη 5 καστημετανοι αστανεκρωμε νασψυχασημων ομοιβουλομενος τονθανατοντο 10 αμαρτωλων.ωστο επιστρεψεικ̄υ αυτηνεπιστρε ψινημας εντη ωριασ̄οῡκ̄πλη 15 ρωσοντοποτα μιᾱυδατα.ειστο μετροναυτον ταισπρεσβειαις τηςδεκουσης. 20 ικετευομενσεαγα θεπολλοιευσπλαγ χνε κ̄ε̄επακου σονημωνκελ/</p>	<p>ω̄σων κ(ύρι)ε τον λαόν σου κ(αι) ε̄υλόγησ[ον] τήν κληρονομ[ί- αν σου κ(αι) ζωοποίη- σαι τῇ μετανοί- α τὰς (νε)νεκρωμέ- νας ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον τῶ(ν) ἁμαρτωλῶν ὥστε ἐπιστρέψει(ν). κ(αι) σὺ(ν) αὐτοῖς ἐπίστρε- ψον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ σω(τη)ρία σου κ(αι) πλή- ρωσον τὰ ποτά- μια ὕδατα εἰς τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν. ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς τεκούσης (ς)ε ἰκετεύομέν σε, ἄγα- θε πολυεύσπλαγ- χνε κ(ύρι)ε· ἐπάκου- σον ἡμῶν κ(αι) ἐλ(έησον).</p>
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'O Lord, save your people and bless your heritage and through penitence bring to life our souls which have died. You do not want the death of the sinful, so you turn them away from sin; and together with them turn us around through your salvation and fill the waters of the river up to their right measure; through the intercession of the woman who bore you, we beg you, Lord, good and merciful, hear us and have mercy on us.'

1-4 Cf. Psalm xxvii 9a-b ω̄σων τον λαόν σου και ε̄υλόγησον την κληρονομίαν σου, where some MSS add κύριε after ω̄σων or after τον λαόν σου.

8-10 Cf. O. Crum 516 ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ κρύπτων γνώστης, ὁ εἰδὼν τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως, ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν θάνατον τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀλλ' ἵνα μετανοήσωσιν καὶ σωθῶσιν· ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τοῦ ἑλεείνου σου καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ δούλου. On the back is a letter by Bishop Abraham (no. 68, Coptic), most likely from Deir el-Bahari.

14 *σω(τη)ρία*. The more common form, following the *nomen sacrum* *σωτηρία*, would be *σωτηρία*. The only extant example of *σω(τη)ρία* is in P. Ryl. III 466.23; cf. Paap, *P. Lugd.-Bat.* 8 (1959) 113–15.

14–17 The prayer for the right amount of Nile flooding is part of the *Synapte* of the Liturgy of St Mark (*τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν χάριν*, 119.27 Brightman; ed. G. J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St Mark* (1990) 13–14), and of the Intercession (*τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν*, 127.23 Brightman; Cuming 25–6). The prayer is not preserved in all MSS (see Cuming 111–13).

On papyrus, the prayer features in SPP IV 250a, 19–20; 250b 5–6; 14–16 (prayer to Shenoute) and MPER XVII 34, recto (6th century). P. Lond. Lit. 239 (6th/7th century) contains a different kind of prayer for the Nile flood, the *Symbolum Constantinopolitanum*, and Psalm *cxxxxii*; cf. also P. Turner 10, and the school tablets Louvre inv. MNE-911 republished by R. Cribiore, *ZPE* 106 (1995) 97–106 (cf. *ZPE* 111 (1996) 40).

For the pagan antecedents of the prayer, see D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* (Paris 1964) 405 ff.; K. Treu, 'Liturgische Traditionen in Ägypten', in P. Nagel (ed.), *Studia coptica* (1974) 43–66.

21–2 πολυέσπλαγγε κύριε Hirmologion 310 (1.1).

C. E. RÖMER

II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

5025. ORATORICAL PROSE

21 3B.24/K(1–3)a

Fr. 1 9.4 × 15.2 cm

Second/third century
Plate III

Seven fragments from a papyrus roll, the largest of which (fr. 1) preserves 23 incomplete lines from the upper part of two successive columns. The other fragments may belong to the same two columns, but they certainly defy definitive placement. The fourth and fifth fragments come from the foot of a column, while the second and third pieces preserve left-hand and right-hand side margins respectively. The generous top (at least 3.3 cm) and bottom (at least 4.2 cm) margins reveal some care in presenting an elegant manuscript. The intercolumnium measures about 2 cm. The papyrus has suffered heavy damage through many holes of various size, a vertical fold in about the middle of the second column of fr. 1, along which there has been considerable wear, and abrasion especially in fr. 4 and 5. On the assumption that all the pieces may belong to two columns, each of them would have accommodated at least 38 lines, a height of at least 19 cm, which comes well within the normal range (W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 119). If the restoration suggested for fr. 1 ii 15–16 is correct, line length may be roughly estimated at 2.20 letters or 6 cm, which also would be in the normative range (Johnson, loc. cit. 101); but see further fr. 1 i 1 ff. note. The text runs along the fibres, and the back is blank. The second column of the first fragment shows a slight leftward slant, exemplifying Maas's law.

The text is written in an upright hand, of medium size, a specimen of the 'Severe Style', but not of its strict version (cf. Roberts, *GLH* 19b). Bilinearity is respected, except in the writing of ρ, τ, γ, φ, and to a small degree λ. Notable letters are the flat and high-placed ω deprived of its middle stroke, the sharp-nosed λ, the sharp-headed θ, η with shallow belly, and τ mostly with horizontal extended to the right. The initial letter of the line is enlarged. The tail of λ and the cross-bar of ε may be extended at the end of lines, and perform the function of line-fillers (see fr. 2.8 and 9). The hand shares features with I 23 (Pl. vi), datable very probably to the third century (its verso carries a document of 295). It also resembles a series of hands, e.g. in III 420 (Pl. vi), VII 1012 (Pl. iv) and 1017 (Pl. vi), XI 1364 (Pl. v) and 1365 (Pl. vi), XIII 1606 (Pl. ii) and 1610 (Pl. iii), LX 4041 (Pl. vii), LXI 4106 (Pl. ix), all assigned to the period between the mid second and mid third centuries. Thus 5025 could be assigned a date within the same time span.

Elision is tacitly effected in fr. 1 ii 8, 9 (possibly twice) and fr. 3.7. It is unclear whether the occasional blank spaces of about half a letter (see fr. 1 ii 1–2 note) stand

for punctuation, possibly with the effect of a modern comma. The larger space of about one letter in fr. 1 ii 10 could indicate strong punctuation. I cannot explain the high dots in the margin of fr. 1 i 4 (after *χειρα*) and in fr. 1 ii 9 above the right arm of *γ*, unless they are stray ink. Corrections by cancellation in fr. 1 i 12, ii 15–16, and perhaps ii 9 are by the same hand.

The fragments under examination appear to preserve oratorical prose, written in the Attic dialect. The vocative address in fr. 1 i 5–6, and the use of first person singular in fr. 3.15 and possibly fr. 1 ii 2, support this suggestion. However, it remains vague whether it is an independent speech delivered in the Amphictyonic Council or included in a historical work, or whether it is a rhetorical declamation, either a copy of an exemplary *ἐπίδειξις* such as those transmitted under the name of Libanius, or the draft of an original one. Regarding the historians, these fragments may have come from the work of any historian who had dealt with Amphictyonic matters; see *FGH Hist* 402–7, and P. Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes* (2001) 18–25. A strong candidate would be Callisthenes, who wrote a monograph on the Third Sacred War (*FGH Hist* 124 F25) and compiled with his kinsman Aristotle a list of Pythian victors. The Third Sacred War is covered in Diodorus xvi, an indication that it could have been extant in the narrative of Ephorus. In general, the Amphictyony does not count for much in the narratives of Thucydides, Xenophon, and other historians after Herodotus; see S. Hornblower, 'The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or, What Thucydides does not Tell us', *HSCP* 94 (1992) 169–97.

Some stylistic remarks may cast light on the problem of the nature of the text. Hiatus is avoided. The writer is prone to repetition: *πόλις* is used twice within four successive lines (fr. 1 ii 1, 4), final clauses with *ἴνα* probably appear four times (fr. 1 ii 9, 12, 14, fr. 3.7), and compound verbs beginning with *σύν* possibly twice within two successive lines (fr. 1 i 6 and 7). Traces of antithesis can probably be picked out in fr. 1 i 11, 12, fr. 3.13–14, 15, but since we do not have the sentences complete they cannot be confirmed. There is bewildering permutation of grammatical person and number, but this would have been understood, if the material had not been so fragmentary; the general impression is that there is one speaker throughout (cf. fr. 1 i 5, ii 2?, fr. 3.15). The most suspicious feature of the style of this text is the use of poetic and rare words and phrases, which would contravene the normal prose usage of the classical period: *πόλις τραγικῶν παθῶν* (fr. 1 ii 1), *ἔγδικος* (fr. 1 ii 8), *κοίταις* (fr. 1 ii 11), *μό]ρσιμ[ο?* (fr. 2.2), are the most striking examples. They could have belonged to poetic or oracular quotations, but they do not seem to scan. The best guess that I could make on the nature of this text, taking into account the florid style and the use of diction foreign to Attic oratory, is that the text on this papyrus could be part of a rhetorical declamation.

If that is so, we could think specifically of a historical declamation. There are sufficient references in the rhetorical handbooks of the second to fifth centuries, as-

sembled in R. Kohl, *De scholasticarum declamationum argumentis ex historia petitis* (1915), to suggest that declamations based loosely on historical events were quite common. Most importantly, actual texts of historical declamations have survived; the earliest of them are on papyrus and Ptolemaic in date (see for instance M–P³, among nos. 2495–2559, and K. Jander, *Oratorum et rhetorum nova fragmenta* (1913) 23–40), while later examples include elaborate speeches of Aelius Aristides, Libanius, and Choricus, with mythical, pseudo-historical, and historical settings. The majority of the themes of the Greek historical declamations concentrate on the classical period, with a few mythical and hardly any hellenistic themes: see D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (1983) 106–9, and the list assembled by Kohl, *op. cit.*

In col. i the key words are 'impiety', 'they heal', 'it is not possible to be healthy [for whoever?] pollutes their hands'; then probably an address to the Amphictyons and perhaps to an oracle (6); later *ἔθνη* (10) may refer to the amphictyonic nations; then (Apollo) Pythius (17). In col. ii we have a city of tragic sufferings, misfortunes and myths, perhaps a plague (5), Parnassus and Cithaeron (5–6), an avenging disease from heaven (8–9); later, an oracle (20). If we assume that the two columns belong to a single text, then we need a thread that will connect impiety/pollution, illness/plague, Amphictyons, oracles/Apollo, a tragic city, Parnassus and Cithaeron. The most concrete elements here are the Amphictyons and the city, which might well be Thebes. But we have no way of telling whether they are both part of a single narrative, or whether (for example) one element is a historical digression or a mythological exemplum.

Since the speaker is addressing the Amphictyony, he could be one of the delegates whom Greek states sent to Delphi, namely, either a *ἱερομνήμων*, that is, the main representative of a state to the Amphictyony, or one of the *πυλαγόραι*, envoys probably of variable number and elected by *χειροτονία*; see G. Roux, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon au IV^e siècle* (1979) especially 20–36, F. Lefèvre, *L'Amphictionie Pyléo-Delphique: histoire et institutions* (1998) 205–14, and Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie* 497–507. Athens, for which we have adequate evidence, sent to Delphi some first-rank politicians, particularly as *πυλαγόραι*, the most famous of whom are Themistocles (479/8), Hyperides (345/4 or 344/3), Demosthenes (341/40), and Aeschines (340). All these politicians are traditionally popular with rhetors and school masters as subjects for declamation (see for instance Kohl, *op. cit.*, nos. 55–71 on Themistocles, nos. 247–58 on Hyperides, and nos. 259–328 on Demosthenes and Aeschines); note XLV 3235–6, declamations written in the *persona* of Demosthenes. The so-called age of Demosthenes outweighs other themes in popularity, with a total of about 125 out of 350 themes of Greek historical declamations, according to Russell's calculations (*op. cit.* 107). Certainly, all the delegates from the twelve peoples (*ἔθνη*) represented at Delphi could have, and some of them are attested to have, made speeches in the *συνέδριον*: Themistocles, for instance, spoke at the Amphictyony in 478 to defend the cities which according to a Lacedaemonian suggestion

were to be excluded from the council because of their alliance with the Medes in the Persian Wars (Plu. *Themist.* 20.3–4). Note also the theme mentioned by Cicero, *De inv.* 2.69 (Kohl no. 198), without naming a specific orator: the Thebans on trial before the Amphictyony for setting up a bronze trophy after the battle of Leuctra.

I have considered specially the following possible themes; the oracles mentioned are collected in H. W. Parke, D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* ii (1956), and J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (1978).

1. The First Sacred War. (a) Ancient sources (Aeschin. 3.108, Plu. *Solon* 11, Paus. 10.37.6–7) report that Solon was invited to Delphi to advise on the sacrilege of the Crisaeans. In declaring war the Amphictyons acted on an oracle, though it is not clear whether this was obtained before (Aeschin. 2.107) or after (Paus. 10.37.6) Solon's intervention. (b) Later, during the long-running siege of Crisa, the Amphictyons received a second oracle (Diod. 9.16, Paus. 10.37.6, Polyae. 35, *Suda* σ 777; interpolated in Aeschin. 3.122), and according to Pausanias, repeated in the *Suda*, Solon was the adviser who interpreted it. Solon's career certainly provided topics for declamation (Kohl no. 26), but neither of these oracles is connected with a plague. (c) Plague does appear in another source, the *Πρεσβευτικὸς Λόγος*, which presents itself as having been delivered at Athens by Thessalus son of Hippocrates (Hipp. *Epist.* 27.3, ix pp. 408–10 Littré; W. D. Smith, *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings* (1990) 113–14): there it is reported that plague fell upon the Amphictyonic camp during the war of Crisa, and when they turned over the decision to the god he promised them victory if they went to Cos and brought back as allies 'a deer's child with gold' (as it turned out, a physician named Nebrus and his son Chrysus). This story does not mention Solon; and in any case I do not see any reflection of such details in our fragments.

2. Aeschines and the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars. In these events of 346–340 BC Thebans play a prominent part, as holding the majority vote in the Amphictyony. We know of speeches by Aeschines on three separate occasions. (a) In 346, after the surrender of the Phocians in the Third Sacred War, Aeschines persuaded the Amphictyons to permit representatives of Phocis to attend the meeting and speak in their own defence (Aeschin. 2.142–3). (b) In 346/5 the Amphictyons decided to offer Philip II the two seats on the Council originally held by the Phocians, and sent ambassadors to Athens to ask for approval of their decisions (Dem. 5, hypothesis). Aeschines supported the request (Dem. 19.111–13). (c) In 340 the Amphissians, under Theban pressure, suggested fining Athens fifty talents, because that city had insulted Thebes by rededicating in the Temple of Delphi the shields taken from the Medes and Thebans during the Persian wars (Aeschin. 3.107ff.; cf. Dem. 18.149ff.). Aeschines, as Athenian delegate, instead of answering the charges, pointed to the land below Delphi which the Amphissians occupied illegally, and called for a new Sacred War. His actual speech does not survive, but he himself quotes an excerpt (3.119–21), beginning with the address $\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$

Ἀμφικτύονες which we find also in our fragment (fr. 1 i 4); in the same context he recalls the First Sacred War and emphasizes the impiety of the Amphissians with diction reminiscent of the beginning of our text (3.107–22, forms of $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ often employed). It is tempting to suggest that we have in our papyrus a speech composed to represent what Aeschines might have said on one of these occasions. Indeed, the second incident provides the starting point for Libanius, *Decl.* 17 (vi pp. 186–239 Foerster; Kohl no. 280), which includes a sample of the speech that Aeschines might have made at Delphi if he had opposed the Council's decision (*Decl.* 17.43). However, the sources make no specific mention of a plague in any of these manoeuvres.

3. Thebes and its myths. The mentions of moral pollution, of oracles and Delphi, of plague and 'tragic sufferings' would make sense in a text referring to Oedipus; and fr. 2 may also contain elements of earlier Theban myths. It is worth considering whether our papyrus preserves a declamation supposedly delivered by Oedipus at the Delphic Amphictyony, or one that narrated the myth, perhaps as a mythological exemplum. Compare for instance Syrianus, *RG* VI 569.10–14 = *RG* XVI 124.4–6 (Kohl no. 18) $\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \text{Ἑλλάδα}\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\nu,\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\pi\rho\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\varsigma\ \text{Ἄργος}\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{Θῆβαι}$, a topic that is actually a comparison between the crimes of Aegisthus and Oedipus. (Kohl refers to a historical use of this theme in 366 BC, when an Athenian addressed the Arcadians, Nepos, *Epam.* 6.) The sources do not explicitly mention the Amphictyons, but declaimers did not regard themselves as restricted by the details of myth or history (Russell, *op. cit.* 113–23); a completely fictitious story could have been mixed with a few historical or mythical elements and framed in a historical setting. So, for example, the Amphictyons could easily have been introduced as the force charged with destroying the impious city, in parallel with their action against Crisa and Amphissa.

In any case, our papyrus could be a product of the literary activity of declamation. In terms of time, it falls well into the chronological limits of the Second Sophistic (conventionally c.60–230), when the genre flourished. The condition of the papyrus leaves no room for conclusions regarding the originality of the text; it could well be the draft of a speech, composed by a teacher of rhetoric, or a student of a rhetorical school, or even a declamation aimed at public recitation. The ephemeral nature of such literary products and the corrections on our papyrus might support this view, without, however, excluding the option of a copy of a more famous, exemplary epideictic speech.

fr. 1

col. i		col. ii
] .χουσινασεβ.ιαν		πολιτ.[.]ικωνπαθ[
] .γεξιωννταιμο		μικαικαταπασηςς[
] .κεξεστιν.ιαι		.]μενητασσυμφορα[
]αν.σιταςχειρας		τουςμυθ[.]υσπολιςλο.[
]ανδρεσαμφικτυ.	5	προλο. .[.]υτονπαρν[
] .[.] .[.] .]μονυν. .		.] .λλακιθαι.ων.[
]υμιδ.ιευ		επειγαρτωνπαλαι[
] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.]		τωνεγδικοσαπουραν[
] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.]		.[.]νοσο[.] .φνιου.σιν[[a]].[
] .ροσεθν. .[	10	κτωνωσιν ε. .[.]π[.]δ[
] . . . δεκρινετ. .		τερασκοιταιεχ[
[[] υμε.εγκαλυ]]		δ. .φοις.ναμ.[
] .ουνταδιατ.ς.		ς[.]ναλληλ[
] .ς διαγαρτων		τονδημον. .[.] .νω[
] .ρεινεκωλυθη	15	σιστιθε. .τοτεδη[[κ.[
]ν.[.]νκαινυν		.]χοντες]]καθαπερεχο.[
]τη.οθυθιοσ		ρα.τ. .[.] .[.]δη[
]ουν[.]απ. . . τον		α.2]ωνδ[α.2]ωτω[α.3]μ.[
]ηυτεραντ. .		.]ενω. .ουσθ. .[.] .[.]π.[
] . . . ελ. .τες	20	] .οιχηρησμοναιτησ[
] .ει.ου. .		.] . . . [.] .μ[.] .ουντ.ε[
] . . πυ. . . [.		α.11]την. .[
]		α.13] .[

col. i
 1], two specks from the upper part of a letter .ι, part of horizontal at mid-height, suggesting ε
 2], foot of oblique descending from left to right, suitable for λ or λ
 3], top of oblique rising rightwards ν. ., angle formed by two short obliques suggesting γ rather than χ, followed by a high horizontal compatible with ρ
 4 ν. ., right part of a curve, open at the top, well suited to ω
 5 ν. ., tiny speck
 6], shallow angle formed by two obliques at the top of a letter, very likely χ
], tiny trace from top of a letter ν. ., the traces could be identified as a ligature, suiting ε1 or ρ1
 7 .ι, top and right part of curved letter, probably ο
 8], lower part of curve topped by short horizontal, compatible with ε but without excluding c
], long vertical bending slightly rightwards, admitting either ρ or γ
 c. ., remnants of lower left part of letter curving rightwards, e.g. c, ε, θ, followed by short horizontal τ. ., two almost parallel verticals allowing η
 9], tiny speck], two traces probably from one letter suggesting λ
 10], faint, non-continuous specks at different levels could belong to ε ν. ., vertical and speck at mid-height would suit η, then top of vertical projecting above the line, compatible with

col. i		col. ii
] .χουσιν ἀσεβειαν		πόλις τρ[α]χικῶν παθ[ῶν
] .γεξιωννται μο-		μι καὶ κατὰ πάσηςς c[
ο]ύκ ἔξεστιν ὑγιαί-		.]μενη τὰς συμφορὰ[ς
[νειν]ανωσι τὰς χεῖρας		τοὺς μύθ[ο]υς πόλις λο.[
] ἄνδρες ἀμφικτύο-	5	πρὸ λοιμ[ο]ῦ τὸν Παρν[
[νεσ]χ[ρ]η[ς] μὸν συν. .-		π]ολλὰ Κιθαιρῶνα[
]υμιδοις εὐ		ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν
]ε[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] .[.]		των ἔγδικος ἀπ' οὐραν[οῦ
] .ροσεθνη.[	10	.[.]νοσο[.] .φνιουσιν[[a]].[
] .νι δὲ κρίνετ. .		κτων ὧσιν ε. .[.]π[.]δ[
[[]αν μὲν ἐγκαλυ-		τερας κοίταις ἐχ[
] .ουντα διὰ τὰς		δελφοῖς ἵνα μῆ[
] .ς διὰ γὰρ τῶν		ς[ὕ]ν ἀλλήλ[οις
] .ρειν ἐκωλύθη	15	τὸν δῆμον ἵνα [.] .νω[
]ν.[.]ν καὶ νῦν		σιστιθε. . τότε δη [[καθάπερ
]την ὁ πύθιοσ		ἐ]χοντες]] καθάπερ ἔχον[τες
]ουν[τ]α πρὸς τὸν		ραντ. .[.] .[.]δη[
τ]ῆν ἑτέραν τ. .		α.2]ωνδ[α.2]ωτω[α.3]μ.[
] . . ἀγελόγτες	20	.]ενω. τοὺς θεο[π]ρ[ό]πο[υς
] .ει.ου. .		.] .οι χρησμὸν αἰτησ[
] . . πυ. . . [.		.] . . . [.] .μ[.] .ουν τῆ ε[
]		α.11]την. .[
		α.13] .[

φ or ψ
 11], . . ., foot of long vertical, perhaps of γ, then probably η, as suggested by the shape of its belly, followed by a narrow upright, the best candidate for which would be ι τ. ., tiny speck at mid-height and extended horizontal at line-end suggest ε, unless the two traces belong to two different letters
 12], part of oblique descending rightwards, suiting λ ε. ., vertical
 13], traces of oblique most suggesting λ or λ τ. ., traces on a diagonal, very likely of λ c. ., indeterminate specks
 14], speck from letter foot
 15], traces that seem to form the bottom curve of a letter
 16 ν. ., tiny speck from foot of letter
 17 η. ., parts of two parallel verticals
 18 π. . ., heads of two round letters, then part of curve bending rightwards below the left side of the horizontal of τ
 19 τ. ., speck and part of vertical
 20, speck at mid-height, top of vertical, then one more speck, and probably right-hand side of η λ. ., two high tiny specks, followed by half vertical marked below the left side of the horizontal of τ
 21], part of high horizontal touching the top of the following ε, which could be τ, ρ, or ζ ι. ., traces from letter top ν. ., scattered specks that could belong to one letter, and part of a curve, admitting ο and perhaps φ

22] . . , low speck and foot of vertical, which could belong to one letter v . . . , specks from letter top, then faint traces of vertical, and blob 23 , traces of letters at the horizontal tear

col. ii

1 τ . . , foot of long vertical] . . , left-hand side of high horizontal well suited to γ 4 ο . . , short part of vertical admitting many possibilities, e. g. γ, ι, κ 5 ο . . , foot of vertical, compatible with ι, then probably the belly of μ 6] . . , speck from bottom of letter ι . . , foot of long descender ν . . , tip of tall letter 9 . . , trace from bottom of initial letter φ . . , specks from top and bottom of letter, which may suit ε . . , short bottom oblique, descending leftwards, which may belong to λ, Δ, λ, or x 10 ε . . , vertical, then foot of second vertical 12 . . , curved top of letter, followed by oblique descending rightwards ζ . . , speck from foot of letter] . . , vertical 14 ν . . , vertical, then foot of vertical and curve at almost mid-height could form η, followed by oblique ascending rightwards and speck 15 ε . . , small curve and speck, which could belong to one or two letters] . . , two small traces 16 ε . . , vertical suiting the expected η 17 α . . , speck and curve that could form the belly of η τ . . , vertical followed by trace level with letter-tops, which could belong to a single letter ν . . , high speck and bottom half of vertical, most suggesting η 18 μ . . , tall vertical 19 ω . . , trace from foot of letter, and part of high horizontal touching the following ο θ . . , part of vertical, and speck from bottom of letter] . . , long vertical extending below the notional parallel] . . , speck at mid-height 20] . . , top and bottom traces on the same notional vertical 21 , tops of four or five letters on the horizontal tear: the first could be ε or c, the second perhaps Δ, the third is the top of a vertical, the fourth and the fifth traces could belong to η; if not, they could be λ and an upright respectively] . . , upper part of upright, probably ι] . . , top of upright, allowing η, λ, μ, η, γ τ . . , mid-height horizontal joined on each side to parts of verticals (the one on the right slightly curved), probably η 22 ν . . , top arc of letter, compatible with λ, μ, η, then probably ε 23] . . , tiny speck

fr. 2

]. []. [
	]ρσιμ[c.4	]ρσιμ[c.4
	]τ . . [1-2] . .	]τ ο . [1-2] . .
	] . ο . . ο . .	] . ο . . ο . .
5	] . [ . . ]λλω	] . [ . . ]λλω
	] . . ρχ ε [. .] κ . ρ α .	] . έρ χ ε [τ α] ι κ ε ρ α ν -
	] . [ . . ] η ν . . . . .	] . [ . . ] η ν
	] . [ . . ] . . . . . ζ θ ε	] . [ . . ] . . . . . ζ θ ε
	] . . . . αιωννα	] . . . . αιων να
10	] . ρ α κ ο . τ ρ ι	] δ ρ α κ ο ν τ ρ ι
	] ο γ ο ν ο ι [1-2] π α . . ι	] ο γ ο ν ο ι [1-2] π α ι η ι
	] . [ c.4 ] . [	] . [ c.4] . [

1] . . , trace from a long vertical 3 τ . . , traces of a round letter below the right part of the horizontal of τ suggest ο or ρ, then high small horizontal and low tiny speck could be compatible with τ] . . , part of a low horizontal, which could perhaps belong to Δ, ω, ζ, followed by a small bottom trace 4] . . , foot of a letter ο . . , better c than ε, then low diagonal descending leftwards, and horizontal baseline, could belong to a z ο . . , stem of a long upright could well match a φ, followed by the curved bottom of a letter 5] . . , upright forming right angle at its top, admitting τ, ε, c, π 6] . . , second, speck at mid-height, which could belong to the middle stroke of ε; the trace above it could belong to the preceding letter, e.g. τ] . . , top of upright, probably ι κ . . , low curve and mid-height traces suggest ε α . . , short high stroke descending rightwards admitting γ and x 7] . . , remains of a vertical] . . , traces forming a diagonal, and bottom trace could match a x, then tiny speck at mid-height ν , two high specks, then a short oblique at top letter-height that could perhaps belong to an γ, followed by a straight line at the top, and an oblique ascending rightwards below it, which could form a ζ; however, the horizontal marked above the top of the assumed ζ remains unplaced. Next, a speck, which could well come from the right-hand edge of a diagonal, e.g. of λ, and at the end a long vertical 8] . . , part of low horizontal, and trace above it] . . , trace variously assignable , tiny speck of ink, then part of middle horizontal joined on the left to a curved line, and on the right to a vertical, could be compatible with ω or η. Next ρ or ο; then top of vertical and traces in the lower part of the writing space from the bottom of a second vertical, which together could belong to η 9] , speck, upright, traces that could form a ρ, and two high specks, certainly from the same letter 10] . . , oblique bending rightwards, better compatible with Δ τ, upright joined with oblique at its top admitting the expected η 11 . . , ι, or ρ, then traces suitable for η 12] . . , tiny speck from the top of a letter] . . , η, ε ι or γ ι

fr. 3

	. . κ . . . [	. . κ . . . [
	] . λατηνπα[	ἀ]λλα τήν πα[
	] . . . [ . ] . ε . [.] τ . [	] . . . [ . ] . ε τ [.] τ . [
	] . . τεε . . ε . [	] . . τεε . . ε . [
5	] . [α3] . νωσαντ[	] . [α3] . νωσαντ[
	] . ιθ[. .] πιση . [.] θε	] . ι θ[ε] πιση . [.] θε-
	] . ινανε . ωσινου[	] . ἴν' ἀνέλωσιν ου[
	] νηρξαν . πυθ . . [	] ν ηρξαν . πυθ . . [
	] . ιεπεικ[.] . [.] α[1-2] κ[	] . ιεπεικ[.] . [.] α[.] κ[
10	] . σπιασα[1-2] . ε α[	] . σπιασα[.] . ε α[
	] ενγαρτησαλ . . . [	] εν γάρ τῆς ἀλλης[
	] . . στον . ατα . η[	] . . στον . ατας . η[
	] . αικαθαρα[.] . νυ[.] ατ[	] . αι καθαρα[.] . νυ[.] ατ[
	] νοστιμοιδε . ρπ . . . [	] νοστιμοι δε . ρπ . . . [
15	] . εγ . δετηγηγεμ . . [	] . ἐγὼ δὲ τῆν ἡγεμον[ίαν

1] . . , specks from the bottom of letters κ . . . , foot of a long letter, thus ρ, τ, Υ, or φ; then curve at the bottom of the following letter, which should be ε, θ, or c; finally, speck at the bottom of a letter 2] . . , lower part of oblique descending rightwards accepting λ and less likely α 3] . . . , oblique descending rightwards compatible with λ, Δ, λ; lower part of upright; short part of high horizontal and trace below the line suit τ] . . , upper curve of ε or c ε . . , part of high horizontal consistent with τ or perhaps ζ] . . , small oblique, most suggesting λ 4] . . , tiny specks parallel to the upper part of a vertical, which could belong to a separate letter from it, if not, they could together suggest η c . . , lower part of an extended oblique descending leftwards, better of λ than of x, followed by an upright joined at bottom left side with an oblique ascending leftwards, which could suit η ε . . , two close low traces 5] . . , a faint speck] . . , speck from the bottom of a letter 6] . . , part from the middle part of a letter η . . , part of high horizontal and foot of long vertical suggest τ. The trace between η and these traces could be either punctuation or casual 7] . . , foot of a long vertical, presumably of γ, φ, τ, ρ ε . . , foot of a diagonal ascending rightwards, well fitting λ 8 ν . . , short part of three almost parallel horizontals, perhaps forming τ, and ο below the right part of the horizontal of τ θ . . , two traces suggesting ι and κ respectively 9] . . , short part of oblique] . . , curved side of a letter, ρ, φ, even β 10] . . , tiny speck] . . , circlet, perhaps the head of ρ , indeterminate traces from four or five letters, the first of which is an upright 11 λ . . . , the extremity of an oblique visible below the right-hand foot of the preceding λ suggests a second λ, then right-hand vertical joining half horizontal at mid-height suggests η, followed by traces on the same vertical 12] . . , if the two traces belong to one letter, ω is the strongest option, otherwise perhaps x would fit . . α, upright, shape and space favour ι or τ or κ α . . . , faint traces of two letters, the first probably c 13] . . , part of a thin, almost horizontal, bottom line] . . , speck from the top of a letter 14 ε . . , scattered specks, compatible with κα π . . . , probably circlet of ο, followed by part of upright and indeterminate blob and speck

15] . . , trace from the top of a tall letter γ . . , part from the left-hand almost vertical side of a letter and its baseline, well suiting ω μ . . , traces of two successive letters that could fit the expected on

	fr. 4	fr. 5	fr. 6	fr. 7

	] . [	] . [	] . [	] α
	[	] ραε . .	] . φ[] .
	[	] τ . νε . ι	] . υθ . [] .
	. [	] οτησπεν	. . . . .	] . .
5	λ[	] ν . λα . [α.ι	. . . . .	] .
	. [	] . ρι . . . [α.ι	. . . . .	] .
	π . [	] . . [ α.3	. . . . .	. . . . .
	κα[	] . . . . ε . . [α.ι	. . . . .	. . . . .
	αε[	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

fr. 4 1] . . , tiny speck 4] . . , tiny speck, perhaps the lower left extremity of an oblique 6] . . , upright 7 π . . , part of a baseline better suiting ω

fr. 5 1] . . , tiny speck 2 ε . . , indeterminate specks 3 τ . . , upper left-hand part of a letter hanging from the right-hand top edge of τ, probably η or ω . . , γ or τ in ligature with ι 5 ν . . , bottom curve well suiting ε α . . , part of high horizontal suggests τ, z, z 6] . . , trace from the foot of a letter ι . . . , speck followed by top of upright and even higher speck 7] . . , faint traces, probably belonging to two letters 8 , indeterminate traces: the second is vertical, the third could belong to λ or λ . . . , traces too faint to allow any conclusions, the second from the foot of a vertical

fr. 6 1] . . , left-hand side of oblique more likely of λ than of λ or Δ 2] . . , foot of a letter 3] . . , speck from the top of a letter] . . , trace from the bottom of a letter

fr. 7 4] . . , feet of two letters: the first could be β, the second ο 6] . . , part of a vertical fr. 1

col. i 1ff. There is a problem in establishing the original line-length. The longest surviving lines (col. ii) measure c.4.5 cm, with 15-18 letters. According to Johnson's tabulation of prose texts copied in Severe Style (105), most examples have line-lengths between 4.5 and 7 cm = c.17-26 letters, but there are isolated examples of widths as great as 8 or even 10 cm. In our text some lines could easily be restored at c.20 letters (i 3-4, ii 1, 7, 15-16), but in others it seems difficult to make coherent sense within such narrow limits.

1] . . , χουσιν ἀκέθειαν. ἔχουσιν (or -έχουσιν)? But if this is a periphrasis for ἀκεθοῦσιν, it is a fairly awkward one, found only in Christian contexts. Better ἐλέ]χουσιν, '[diseases] prove impiety [in those they afflict] and they are cured only by suffering'?

2] . . , γεσιν. Plausible suggestions could be ἄγεσιν, ἀλγεσιν, and their compound adjectives, e.g. ἐναγέσιν; also ἀελαγέσιν.

ἰώνται, third person plural indicative of ἰάομαι, or less likely ἰώνται, third person plural subjunctive of ἴεμαι.

μο. I would tentatively suggest a form of μόνος or μόνον or μόλις.

4]ανωσι. ἐὰν μι]άνωσι or ἐξ οὗ ἂν μι]άνωσι (Parsons) may be considered. After χεῖρα an apparent high stop.

5-6 ἄνδρες ἀμφικτύονες. ὦ may have preceded.

6 κυ. . . One may restore κυει- for a form of κύνοια, or κυγι- (l. κυγι-) for e.g. forms of κυγγίνομαι or better κυγγινώσκω, which could take an accusative object, in case χ[ρ]η[ε]μὸν functions in this way.

7]νιδοις. If the reading of the first ι is correct, c]νιδοις, ν]ῖν ἴδοις, ο]ῖν ἴδοις may be reconstructed. The second singular person is puzzling. It may be a case of a figure of speech, e.g. an *Hyphorhora*, that is, the speaker may conduct a fictitious dialogue, possibly with his opponent, for the sake of argument; see H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* (1998) §§771-5. c]ννοδοις would suit the Amphictyonic context (see Aeschin. 2.115 etc), but the first ο is not palaeographically plausible.

8 . . . τη. . . ξετην could be read.

10 ἔθνη. In the context of this papyrus it would make sense that ἔθνη refers to the twelve people-members of the Amphictyony. On this term, see Aeschin. 2.116, Theopomp. *FGHist* 115 F63, scholia on Pi. *Pyth.* 4.118, and Lefèvre, *L'Amphictionie* 17 ff., Roux, *L'Amphictionie* 3, 12 ff.

11]νι δὲ κρίνετ. . . ν]νι δὲ κρίνετε could be restored.

12-13 [[ἐγκαλυ[could express shame, as e.g. in Aeschin. 2.107, and Dem. *Ep.* 3.42.

15]ρειν. If the first letter could be read as ω or ο, I would suggest for instance θεωρεῖν, a compound in -χωρεῖν, or εὑπορεῖν. Then ἐκωλύθη, ἐκωλύθη[τε, etc.

22 πυ. . . [. . . Perhaps a form of πύθιος, or πυνθάνομαι.

col. ii 1 πόλις. Cf. fr. i ii 4. The identity of the πόλις is not obvious, if our author actually refers to a specific one. It could be a member of the Delphic Amphictyony. The reference to δῆμον (fr. i ii 14) may bear Athenian connotations, while that to Κιθαιρώνα (fr. i ii 6) may hint at Thebes.

τρ[α]χικῶν παθ[ῶν]. Less likely παθ[η]μάτων. Cf. Hsch. τ 1233 (= Phot. τ 597 = *Suda* τ 892) τραγικὸν πάθος: μεστὸν συμφορᾶς. Apart from being a technical term in drama, this phrase expresses severe calamity, as possibly here, in Diod. 20.21.3, Plu. *Marius* 27.2 and *Galba* 12.5.

1-2]μι. A first-person singular verb in -μι could have stood at the end of 1, e.g. φημί. At this point the city may be personified and speak for itself (see Lausberg, op. cit. §828), in which case εἶ]μι would be an option. If the short space after -μι has been left deliberately to mark word division or punctuation (cf. also fr. i i 14, ii 4, 9, 14; a wider space in ii 10), the option of a word ending in -μικαί is not likely. If εἶ]μι is correct, did it govern the genitive directly, or should we restore a governing noun or adjective, e.g. μήτηρ, μεστή?

2 κατὰ πάσης ε[. The meaning 'against' or 'in respect of, concerning' (LSJ s.v., A ii 5 and 7 respectively) would be possible. κατὰ πάσης (τῆς) γῆς is a recurring phrase, but γ[ῆς cannot be read. In view of τραγικῶν it may be worth considering ε[κηνῆς, 'on every stage'.

2-3]μένη. A participle ending in -ο]μένη (e.g. φουμένη) or -ε]μένη (e.g. εἰθιμένη). In either case the last letter of line 2 must be a vowel.

4]τοὺς μύθ[ο]υς. κατὰ] τοὺς μύθ[ο]υς may make a good restoration.

λο. . . The line could be supplemented with a form of λοιμός or λογίζομαι, a participle agreeing with πόλις, or Λοκ[ρῶν].

5 πρὸ λοιμ[ο]ῦ. The preposition here possibly expresses cause or motive (cf. LSJ s.v. iii 2). If one would connect the reference to a plague with the Delphic Oracle, one would consider the attested inquiries made at the Delphic Oracle in the grip of a plague. A list of them can be seen in Parke-Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* ii, and Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (indexed on p. 442), prompted by states through eponymous or anonymous messengers. Among all Greeks who were members of the Delphic Amphictyony, the Athenians are recorded to have made most inquiries to the Delphic Oracle for relief from a plague.

τὸν Παρν[. Probably τὸν Παρνασσόν, cf. Κιθαιρώνα in 6. Highly unlikely the rare Παρνόπιον

(cult adjective, attested only in Paus. 1.24.8), and the rare personal names (see *LGPV* iiiB, s.vv.) Παρνάσιος, Παρνασσός, Παρνάττιος, Παρνοπίδας. Cithaeron could stand for Thebes and its tragedies (Himer. 66.6 τραγωδίας πηγὴ τὰ Κιθαιρώνας ἐγκώμια), Parnassus for Delphi and its oracles.

7-8 τῶν παλαι[]των. τῶν παλαι[ῶν λυμά]των is possible (Parsons). Instead of λυμάτων, other options may be a noun like πολι[τῶν] or a participle like ἡμαρτηκό]των.

8 Read ἔκδικος.

8-9]]. [.]νοσο[. ἐσταλ[μ[ε]νος δ[could be a good reading. Otherwise,] νόσο[ε] or the like would fit the space and probably the context of λοιμός (ii 5), ἴωνται (if correct, i 2) and ὑγιαίνειν (i 3-4).

9 ο[. . .]φουονε[α]. [. Perhaps δ[ε] ἔφ' υἱοὺς ἴν[α]α, or δ[ε] [δ]ιφουοὺς ἴν[α]α.

10 ὄζειν or ὠκίεν? The former could be the verb of the final clause in 9. Its subject is open to conjecture.

1-10 As pure speculation, and not forgetting the problem of the line-lengths, Parsons suggests that the general sense was: πόλις τρ[α]χικῶν παθ[ῶν] θεάτρον εἶ]μι καὶ κατὰ πάσης ε[κηνῆς ὑποδν][ο]μένη τὰς συμφορὰς εἰς αὐτῆς καὶ | τοὺς μύθ[ο]υς, πόλις λοι[μὸν] παθοῦσα | πρὸ λοιμ[ο]ῦ, τὸν Παρν[ασσὸν] πολλά, | [π]ολλὰ Κιθαιρώνα [κατομώζουσα.] | ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαι[ῶν] ἀεβημά]των ἔγδικος ἀπ' οὐραν[οῦ] κατήλθεν | ἡ νόσο[ε] ἔφ' υἱοὺς, ἴν' α[ἴ]τιοι τῶν ἀνά]κτων ὄζειν, 'I (Thebes) am a city the showplace of tragic sufferings and one that enacts my own misfortunes and stories on every stage, a city that has suffered plague after plague, much lamenting Parnassus, much Cithaeron. For when the disease, avenger of old impieties, came down from heaven upon my children, so that they should be guilty of their kings . . .'

10-11 τέραις could perhaps suit the context, meaning divine sign or monster / monstrous birth. It may refer to the πύθων, the dragon killed by Apollo, or the Sphinx, whose riddle Oedipus answered and saved Thebes; or to the unnatural issue of Oedipus' incest (ii κοίταις?). Other possibilities include ἑτέρας, προτέρας, πατέρας, μητέρας, the last two perhaps in relation to the υἱοὺς in ii 9, if it is a correct restoration.

11-12 A pure conjecture would be τέραις κοίταις ἐχ[ρήτο] ἐν] Δελφοῖς, without excluding the reading ἀδελφοῖς or other options for restoring ἐχ[.]

14 ἴνα [.]νφ[. ἴνα [γ]νώ[ε]κ- could be a possible reading.

15 εἰς τιθε. . . Possible articulation: εἰς τι θεῶν or θεῶν.

16-17 ραπτ. . .]ε[. . .]δη[. The traces would fit καθα[ρὰν] τῆ]ν] συν[ε]δη[ε]ιν: this collocation is, however, attested only in a Christian context.

18 ε.2]ωνδ[ε.2]ωτω[ε.3. A large initial τ alone could have been lost in the gap at the beginning of the line (cf. fr. i ii 14). A form of ἔρωτώ preceded by τῶνδε with elision would fit.

20 αἰτησο[. αἰτήσο]ναι, αἰτήσο]νται, αἰτήσο]ντες, αἰτησόμενοι are the plausible reconstructions.

21 μ[.] ουν. μ[ε]ν οὖν would be possible.

fr. 2

2]ρσιμ[. Perhaps a form of μόρσιμος.

3]το[. [1-2] . . .]τοῖ[ε] δ[ε] would be acceptable.

4 . ο . . . Could it be ζοφξ, i.e. a form of ζοφερός?

6-7 . ερχε[τα]ι κεραι. Perhaps κα]τέρχε[τα]ι κεραι[νός].

7 χρῆν (or ε[χ]ρῆν) or χρῆναι.

8 . . . εθε. ωρεῖεθε or ωρῆεθε, e.g. from τιμωρέω.

9-10 να. Perhaps να[ός], νά[μα], νά[πη]; cf. Hsch. τ 1134: βέλτιον δὲ ἀκούειν τῆν ἐν Δελφοῖς Νάπην λεγομένην, ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ δράκων κατετοξεύθη, καὶ ὁ δμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πύθωνος, or even a form of να[σοπιός]. νασοποῖοι were mainly financial officials concerned with the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, and appointed by the different states of the Amphictyony; see Roux, *L'Amphictionie* 95-120; Lefèvre, *L'Amphictionie* 263-6; Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie* 128 ff.

10 δρακόντει. Perhaps by itacism for δράκοντι (a reference to the dragon killed by Apollo at Delphi, or to the Athenian law-giver?); perhaps a form of δρακόντειος, continuing into the next line, a reference to the dragon's teeth and the progeny (11) that they produced. If the author is here concerned with the early history of Thebes, 6-7 may deal with the incineration of Semele; in 9 Θηβαίων is not verifiable.

11]ογονοι[. ?]. πρ]όγονοι or ἀπ]όγονοι with a possible addition of a final ε, which could have been lost in the gap.

παιηι could be the third person subjunctive of παίω, or a form of the epic παιήων, both a song and a title to Apollo, with the second ι being irrational. But παρηι may not be excluded.

fr. 3

5] . [ε3] . γωσαντ[. Many articulations are possible. A form of an active aorist participle or third person plural indicative of a contracted verb in -όω, e.g. στεφανόω, could be considered.

6-7 θ[ε]π[ί]ε[σ]η . [.]θ[ε] . θ[ε]π[ί]ε[σ]η τ[ι] (or τ[ε]) θ[ε]δ[ος] (or θ[ε]ξ[ε]π[ι]ε[σ]μα or Θ[ε]ξ[ε]π[ι]ε[σ]υ), or θ[ε]π[ί]ε[σ]η τ[ι]θ[ε]ξ[ε]ναι are some suggestions.

8 ηρξαν . πυθ . [could be articulated as ἡρξαντο πυθικ[.

9 επικ[.] . [.]α[.] . One possibility may be ἐπικ[η]ρ[ύ]ξ[α]ι .

10] . σπιαα[.] . ε α[. A reading such as Θ]εσπιάς (or Θ]εσπιᾶς) α[ρ]εῖζθαι α[would match the traces.

12] . . στον . ατας . η[. ως τὸν καταστῆ]σαντα would well match the traces.

13] . αι καθαρὰ[.] . νυ[.]ατ[.] και καθαρὰ [μ]έν υ[δ]ατ[α could be restored. Possibly 13 and 14 mention the beneficial results to water and land in a region after the consultation of the Delphic oracle regarding a plague. In that case we should recognise parts of the verb θεσπίζειν in 6 and 10, and 7 may show the special use of ἀναιρεῖν to refer to oracular instructions (cf. fr. 1 i 20).

14 νοστιμοι δε . ρπ . . [. νόστιμοι δὲ καρποί is a good reading, although it is not an attested collocation; cf. τὸ νόστιμον τῶν καρπῶν in Chrysippus, *SVF* 38.5 (= Sextus *adv. mathem.* 7.16). Also Hsch. ι 803 and ο 828, where νόστιμον is cited as a synonym of πολυφόρον, καρποφόρον, ἄφθονον.

15 ἐγώ . λέγω may not be excluded.

fr. 4

9 αε[. Perhaps a form or derivative of ἀέβεια (cf. fr. 1 i 1).

fr. 5

5]ν . λα[. The most likely reading and division would be]ν ἐλατ[. A form of ἐλάττων could be considered, or τῆ]ν Ἐλάτ[ειαν; cf. Dem. 18.168 ff., Diod. 16.84.1-2 ff., Philoch. *FGH Hist* 328 F56, Aeschin. 3.140, and Phil. *Dem.* 18.1, on the seizure of Elateia by Philip in 339 BC.

fr. 6

3] . υθ[. Perhaps πυθ[.] .

R. HATZILAMBROU

5026. UNKNOWN PROSE

112/70(a) + 114/62(a)

Fr. 1 19 × 14 cm

Second/third century
Plates IV-V

Thirteen fragments of a papyrus roll, which were catalogued separately in two groups, under different inventory numbers, each containing one larger fragment and a number of smaller ones. From 112/70(a) come frs. 1 and 5-8; from

114/62(a) come frs. 2-4 and 9, of which fr. 2 consists of a main fragment (a) and four smaller pieces (b-e) combined in a single ensemble by Dr Coles. It is not clear whether each group represents a unitary find, or was assembled on the evidence of the script. The main pieces, frs. 1 and 2, resemble each other so strongly in script and in format that they are likely to come from the same roll, though I see no way of telling which preceded which. Of the small pieces, frs. 3-4 and 6-7 strongly resemble the large pieces both in script and in line-spacing; frs. 5, 8, and 9 are too small for any clear conclusion to be drawn. The edge of a vertical *kollesis* can be seen on fr. 1, just after the line-ends of col. i, and on fr. 2, running through the line-beginnings of col. ii. The backs are blank.

Two columns survive nearly complete, fr. 1 col. ii with 23 lines, fr. 2 col. ii with 24. In both the column-height is c.12.5 cm, the column width c.5 cm, the inter-columnium c.2 cm. The lower margin is preserved to 5.3 cm deep. The upper margin survives at about 1 cm. It may well have been larger originally, but Johnson has shown that the conventional formula for deducing the size of one margin from the size of the other (upper : lower = 2 : 3) is very inaccurate (W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 130-34). What can be deduced from the surviving evidence is that the total height of the roll was at least 19 cm, perhaps as much as 22 cm or more. That would make the proportion of column-height to roll-height 66% or 57%, consonant with the calligraphic script: 'finer manuscripts generally tend to a larger proportion of margin to total height than do less well-written examples' (Johnson 139, with tabulations of the data).

The script is a light and elegant form of Severe Style. Individual forms of characteristic letters compare well with those of manuscripts of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century AD. The writing has a fluent appearance, and is similar to VII 1016, a fragment of Plato's *Phaedrus* (Roberts, *GLH* 20a). This papyrus has a document on the recto (VII 1044), which has been dated to 235 or later (see Turner, *GMAW*² 84; J. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 290; LVII 3882 introd.) and can function as a tentative *terminus post quem*. The letter-forms in 1016 (apart from its idiosyncratic x) compare well with those in the present papyrus. The script of the latter, however, leans more to the right than that of 1016, which is uncharacteristically upright. It also exhibits less ornamentation, again more in accordance with the canon of the Severe Style. For general discussions of this style see M. S. Funghi and G. Messeri Savorelli, 'Note papirologiche e paleografiche', *Tyche* 7 (1992) 75-88, and L. del Corso, 'Lo "stile severo" nei P.Oxy.: una lista', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 81-100.

In the specimen to hand there is distinct contrast between wide and narrow letters (cf. especially γ, λ, π, τ, Δ, κ, and sometimes ω, as compared to narrow ε, ϑ, ρ, c). Furthermore, the ο, as expected in the mature phase of this style, is exaggeratedly small, and gives the impression of floating between top and bottom line-level. An idiosyncratic tendency of the scribe is sometimes not to complete the full

circle of the ο, leaving it slightly open at the top. The fragment contains no accents, no punctuation and no other lectional signs, except diaeresis (fr. 2 ii 15) and filler signs at the end of lines (fr. 1 i 10, 17, 18; fr. 2 ii 9). Iota adscript is usually marked (fr. 1 ii 22, 23?, word-ends, but not fr. 2 ii 16, medial). The scribe elides but does not use elision marks (fr. 1 ii 6, 8, 13; fr. 2 ii 11, 15; *scriptio plena* fr. 2 i 3, clause-end?). On two occasions (fr. 1 ii 8; fr. 2 i 4) he abbreviates ν at line-end by adding a horizontal stroke above the previous letter.

The papyrus contains substantial remains of a prose work, but establishing the genre is not a straightforward matter. The text presents itself as an address or addresses by one or more first person singular (fr. 1 ii 3, 5, 8, 9; fr. 2 ii 10?), once using the first plural (fr. 2 ii 16), with mention of a plural 'you' (fr. 1 ii 8, iii 22?) but perhaps also a singular vocative (fr. 2 ii 11). Its argument concerns another group or groups of people, referred to by name or in the third person plural (fr. 1 ii 4, 7, 10, 14–15, 17–22; fr. 2 i 4, ii 20–22; fr. 4 i 5). Thus we have a speech or speeches, but there is no clear indication whether this was an oration as such, or an oration inset in some other kind of text, or a work in dialogue form or a treatise presented as an address or letter.

The subject matter could certainly be a likely topic for any of the possible genres just mentioned. Both main fragments refer to *πολιτεία* (fr. 1 ii 16, fr. 2 ii 20–21), and the second to *τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (fr. 2 ii 23; cf. i 2 and 14). The best preserved portion contains criticism (fr. 1 ii 9, 11) of the Athenians in reference to their constitutional history. Before that the speaker had discussed another group (fr. 1 ii 4), presumably also in reference to their constitution, and also in critical spirit (fr. 1 ii 10 *καὶ μᾶλλον*). Fr. 1 col. iii may well continue with the Athenians (10–11 autochthony?, 18 nobility, 23 possibly a reference to Theseus). This or another group is also criticised in fr. 2 ii 20–22, but unfortunately it is impossible to establish whether in the original text this came before or after the discussion about the Athenians. At this point, it seems, the speaker refers to a system assumed to be ideal: 'I should not have been surprised if, forming the assumption that for them this was most pure and most just, we had carried on our own affairs too in accordance with it. But as things are, it has been distorted and everything is upside down.' 'Our own' probably stands in contrast to 'the common interest of Greece' (ii 23), i.e. it refers to the affairs of a city or cities to which the author belongs as well as his audience.

With the exception of the Athenians, no group is actually named in the surviving text. As a first thought of course Sparta would come to mind, as the standard 'other' city. In this case, however, it is plausible to suggest that the city mentioned before Athens may be Thebes, since the two cities are referred to in Polybius 6.43.1–44.9 as having constitutions that did not develop in a normal way, i.e. that the changes do not follow the theory of the cycle of constitutions, mostly developed by Plato *Republic* 8.544a–569b (but seen as a progression rather than a cycle), Aristotle *Politics* 5.10.1–10.3, Polybius 6.7.5–9.11, 11–12 and Plutarch *περὶ*

μοναρχίας (*Mor.* 826A–827C). Older authors, such as Herodotus 3.80–82, contain elements of this subject, but not yet as a developed theory (A. D'Errico, *Plutarcho: περὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας* (1974) 30–33). According to this there is a natural evolution from one form to the next (*βασιλεία* → *ἀριστοκρατία* → *δημοκρατία*) since each type of constitution eventually becomes degenerate in the forms of *τυραννία*, *ὀλιγαρχία*, and *ὄχλοκρατία* respectively. For more on this see H. Ryffel, *Μεταβολὴ Πολιτειῶν* (1949); K. von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (1958); D'Errico loc. cit. 30–45; W. Nippel, *Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike und früher Neuzeit* (1980). Alternatively, if Athens is being juxtaposed to the first city rather than used to illustrate an argument further, then this could be Sparta, Crete, Mantinea, or Carthage, the states that are said to have followed the natural cycle.

Depending on the date of the composition (see below) it can also be assumed as a possibility that, if the work is Hellenistic, the theme might also be Hellenistic. J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power*, *TAPS* n.s. 43/4 (1953) 882, suggests that part of such comparisons could also be Alexandria, though 'praise of the constitution of Alexandria would have been difficult'.

In a more fragmentary part of the text, therefore unhelpfully out of context, there are several occurrences of the word *κοινόν/κοινά*, which could indicate a discussion on the matter of leagues (fr. 2 i 2, 14, cf. ii 23).

It can be rather securely assumed that the 'audience' is made up of non-Athenians, since the Athenians are criticized as a separate group. The exact identity of the audience is not possible to determine, since it depends entirely on parameters that are totally unknown, such as the aforementioned identity of the other city, and more so the identity of the author. From fr. 1 we could guess that the audience belongs to a city or nation whose constitution will be praised by contrast with that of the Athenians and others. However, fr. 2 may rather suggest that the ideal constitution, when identified, will be contrasted with the way that 'we' do things.

The procedure of reviewing some constitutions to show up the virtues of another, is exemplified in a famous passage of Polybius, 6.43–56: the Roman constitution is contrasted favourably with those of Sparta, Crete, Mantinea, and Carthage, whereas Athens and Thebes are omitted, since their constitutional development is viewed as abnormal. The idea of inimitable constitutions is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.2–3), Aelius Aristides (26.90–1), Polybius (6.11–18), Appian (*Praef.* 8), as well as Thucydides (2.37.1, Pericles on Athens), Xenophon (*Lac.* 1.2) and Plutarch (*Lyc.* 31.3) on Sparta, etc. The connection between many of the writers who wrote on the splendour of Rome by using this pattern, with special reference to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, has been discussed by G. Kaibel, 'Dionysios von Halikarnass und die Sophistik', *Hermes* 20 (1885) 497–513.

The composition is not easy to date. The Greek is correct by classical norms, but with no special 'Atticistic' features. In what survives of the text, the author

avoids objectionable hiatus. (For the basic principles of this subject see M. D. Reeve, 'Hiatus in the Greek Novelists', *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971) 514-39.) There is only one example of hiatus after long final vowel (fr. 1 ii 5), and that is excused by sentence end. The two examples of apparent hiatus after short final vowel are special cases: in fr. 1 ii 11-12, *-αρθαι*, the final diphthong (which counts as short as the accent shows) may be elided in utterance (Reeve loc. cit. 515), cf. fr. 2 ii 14 *-μενοι ου-*; fr. 1 ii 12 *ὄτι* enjoys the special status of many such short common words; see Reeve for many examples in the novelists. The author is well able to construct a long periodic sentence (fr. 1 ii 9 ff.) with elegant variation (*πειραθέντες . . . ἀπειράτου, νῦν μὲν . . . ἀθθις δέ . . . εἶτα πάλιν*). The text offers a large number of set phrases, and in the commentary I have listed their occurrence in extant authors up to the end of the third century AD. None of them is striking enough, or occurs in such limited distribution, as to give a useful clue.

This makes it difficult to decide whether this is a work of the classical period or Hellenistic or later. Since the audience is not Athenian, most Attic orators are ruled out; but one could still think of some Isocrates addressing a non-Athenian group, or some figure speaking within a historical work. But equally we could visualise an orator of the Second Sophistic addressing an audience in a city of Asia Minor (or in Rome), praising or blaming the institutions of their city by contrast with those of famous empires of the classical past, or (if the vocative *ὦγαθέ* is recognised in fr. 2 ii 11) an essayist of the same period composing a treatise or dialogue of the sort familiar from Plutarch.

fr. 1 col. i

]
]
]
]
]
 5]
]ς.[. .]η
]τ.[.]ς
] . . . ον
]τοιπρο
 10]γ
]
]
] ουδ.
]ροσφ
 15]νε
] . [

]ςγ
] . ιγ
] . ο
 20]μο
]
]

6] , η or λ? 7]τ. [, small flick (top of a letter?) under right part of τ 8] . . . , short rightward slanting stroke at bottom line level, α or ο. Then leftward slanting stroke joining the lower end of a vertical, η or possibly two letters. Then the lower part of a vertical stroke, γ, τ, or υ, less likely left leg of η or π 12] , unexplained traces in margin, about two letter-spaces to the right 13] ο, right part of small loop, high up in the line, ο, ρ, or φ δ. , at top line level on a loose strip, traces of horizontal (letter or filler sign?) 16] , traces in shape of small curve in top half of the line, a dot lower right, μ or γ 18] , dot at mid line level, ε, θ, ψ, less likely γ, c, or τ 19] , two dots, one at top, one at bottom line level, z, κ, x, more possibly c

fr. 1 col. ii

	δε[.] [.] περιφανους	δε[.] [.] περι ἀφανούς
	καιαδηλουτουςλο	και ἀδήλου τους λό-
	γους ποι[.] υμαιδιο	γους ποι[ο] υμαι δι' ὀ-
	περταμεντουτων	περ τὰ μὲν τούτων
5	εασειμοιδοκω ο	ἐάσει μοι δοκῶ, ὀ-
	περ ἔπιτουτοιση	περ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν
	ταωναθηναίων	τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
	βουλομαιμεθυμῶ	βούλομαι μεθ' ὑμῶ(ν)
	ἐξετασαικαιγαρμοι	ἐξετάσαι. και γάρ μοι
10	καιμαλλοντουτοις	και μᾶλλον τούτοις
	καταμεμφασθαι	καταμέμφασθαι
	επεληλυθενοτιε	ἐπελήλυθεν, ὅτι ἐ-
	παμφοτεραπειρα	π' ἀμφότερα πειρα-
	θεντεςμαλλονδε	θέντες, μᾶλλον δὲ
15	μηδεμιασαιοις	μηδεμίας αὐτοῖς
	πολιτειασαπειρα	πολιτείας ἀπειρά-
	τουγενομενησαλ	του γενομένης, ἀλ-
	λανυμμενβασιλευ	λά νῦν μὲν βασιλευ-
	ομενοιαυθιςδεδη	όμενοι, ἀθθις δὲ δη-
20	μοκρατουμμοιει	μοκρατούμενοι, εἶ-
	ταπαλινολιγαρχου	τα πάλιν ὀλιγαρχού-
	μμοικαιτηηπα	μμοι, και τῆι πα-
	ρουση[.] αταστ[.] ςει	ρούση[ι κ] αταστ[ά] ςει

1 [.] [.] , perhaps only two letters altogether of ρ, same ink and style as main text 6 ρ^s, small δ added over and to the right

fr. 1 col. iii

[]
[]
[]
[]
5 [.]
α[.]φ.[]
το.[]
δο[]
τ[.]ε[.]...[]
10 τοιο.τ[.]...[]
χθόνων γ[.]ε.[]
.. νπροφερ[]
τ[.]...[.]νε.[]
των...[.]...τ.[]
15 ριλέω[]
..γ...[]
τι. α[.]υ[.]της[]
τη. ευ[.]γεν.[]
κοτωσαν[]
20 με[.]...ρουδε[]
δε[.]γεγονα[]
ε[.]πα[.]ραπα[]
δυ[.]...νοθ[.]ης[]
το[.]...των[] α[.]λλω[] ν c.3

5 [] vertical in lower half of the line, variously assignable slightly under bottom line level; ι, ρ, τ, γ, φ, ψ 7 [] long vertical, reaching 9 [] lower part of a vertical, ρ, ι, ρ, τ, γ. Then lower part of a rightward oblique 10 ο, τ, vertical that may have lost upper left arm; γ or ι 11 [] traces of a vertical 12 ν, short vertical, then at top right of a hole top of another, which curls slightly to the left at its lower end, ω suggested 13 [] top of two parallel verticals? Underneath lower part of a downward diagonal, or join of diagonal and vertical, ν suggested 14 [] top horizontal and bottom horizontal, z or ζ 15 [] upright spanning the height of the line, and extending below it, perhaps γ. Then a short vertical, with a small dot near the top and to the right, μ or ν 16 [] unrecognisable tall letter 17 [] short upright curving inwards, joined at its lowest visible point to horizontal protruding rightwards, top half of ε, or left part of ω placed rather high in the line 18 [] top of triangular letter; to the right, at mid to top line level, a dot 19 [] top of small and narrow round shape, ο, or more likely top loop of ρ. Then very top of lost letter 20 [] α, traces at mid-line level and

top right quadrant, ρ, c, most likely τ 20 ρ, traces of top and bottom horizontal, maybe very elongated κ 23 ν or ν, downward-curving, rightward-slanting short stroke in bottom left quadrant, on the right upright spanning the height of the line, with traces at its middle and to the left

fr. 2 col. i

(b)]εραινον c.8]εραινον
]...γκοινω... c.6]...γκοινω...
] ιτουτωωσπερ c.3] ι τουτο ωσπερ
] ρφασδιαφερο c.3] ρφâc διαφερο(ν)-
5] οινω. εχει[.]...ν c.3] οινω. εχει[.]...ν
]....[.]....]
]]
]]
]]
10]]
]]
(c)]λα...[]
] νπαρουσι...[] c.4] ν παρουσι...[]
] κοινωνοισιντε c.4] κοινωνοισιντε
15] ενκαταλο c.4] εν καταλο
] ανεξε c.10] ανεξε
] εω[.]μεντα c.4] εω[.]μεντα
] ε[.]...ενη

2 [] two consecutive lower ends of verticals 3 [] rough c or lower part of ε? 4 [] dot in lower right quadrant 5 ο, parts of vertical extending below line level ν, unusual top 6 [] top of rightward slanting stroke or curve; two dots at top line level; top of vertical; top of vertical with stroke jutting to the top right 7 [] traces of two tops (possibly one letter), then possibly επ! 12 α...[] first μ or η, second μ or η 15 [] εν rather than], εν, to judge from the spacing 18 [] ενη, before ε perhaps μ, but rather deep and narrow, α! better?

fr. 2 col. ii

(d)	μακαρ[	μακαρ[
	κουσσυν.[	κουσ συν.[
	τερωςδεγ[	τερως δεγ[c. 7
	επειδαι.[	ἐπ' εὐδαιμ[ον c. 5
5	ταστασε.[	ταστασε.[c. 8
(e)	μεντων[.....]ν (a)	μεντων[.....]ν
	τοις τυχο[...]ν με	τοις τυχο[...]ν με
	ρειδεσυνα λανειν	ρει δὲ συναπολαύειν
	παρεσχευδ[...]περ>	παρεσχευδ[...]περ>
10	ουκανεθαι...ον	οὐκ ἂν ἐθαύμαζον
	...ξειτουταυτοικ	...ε εἰ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς
	καθαρωτατονκαιδι	καθαρώτατον καὶ δι-
	και[.]τατονυποστη	και[ὁ]τατον ὑποστη-
	σαμενοιουτωσκα	σάμενοι οὕτως κα-
15	ταυτοκαιταιδία	τ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ἴδια
	διωκουμεθανυ.[.]	διωκούμεθα. νῦν [δ]ἐ
	διατετραπταικα[.]	διατέτραπται κα[ι]
	ταυκα. γε. ν. . .	τᾶν κατῶ γεγένη-
	ται. ταιεξ. . . .	ται. ταιεξ. . . .
20	εκαστοιπολιτευσου	ἕκαστοι πολιτεύσου-
	σινουδενπραττον	σιν οὐδὲν πράττον-
	τεσανιασινειδεκα	τες ανιασιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ
	τακοινατηςελλαδος	τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
	τοναυτοτροπον	τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον

2 .[, lower end of upright
short vertical, γ, ι, λ, ν, π, τ, Υ(?)
projecting upwards from main fragment)
7 .[, upright trace apparently below line-level (on fibres
upper curve as of ο (displaced downwards on distorted fibres?)
vertical
8 α. . . , feet of two uprights, horizontal trace above;
11 , second, high horizontal, to the right dot at line-level, then another such dot
with high horizontal above and extending to right
10 , first, middle part of
16 .[, right-hand end of horizontal or rising
oblique at mid-height
18 α. . . , part of top horizontal, horizontal trace at line-level (two or three
letters)
19 ται. . , perhaps ο or c

fr. 2 col. iii

	μ[
	ταυ[
	ην[
	τα.[
5	τουτ[
	μιδ[
	μον[
	χ. . [
	.. [
10	ουτ[.]. [
	μωνετ[
	νοιπ. [
	ευχον. [
	αλ. αβ[
15	α. [
	τωτ. . [
	νιαβια[
	τεεδι. [
	πορπ[
20	επιτο. [

4 .[or . . [, π or ιτ
scattered traces on shuffled fibres
8 χ. . [, inconclusive series of traces at top line level
9 . . [,
12 .[, half-circle at mid-line level, probably ο
13 .[,
uncertain ink including small downward curve at top line (apparently not τ; ο perhaps possible)
14 λ. , space of one letter, almost entirely rubbed out
15 α. [, μ followed by abraded patch? or
wide η followed by blank (i.e. section-end)?
16 . . [, dot at bottom line; horizontal and further
ink at top

fr. 3 col. i	col. ii
]υκεν	π[
]μαλει	κ.[
].ωι	μ.[
].με	το[
5]....ω	τ.[
]..	ον[
]ει	μ[
].ν	α.[
].].[
10].ν	[
].ε].[
].αν	κ[
]..].[
]..ν	.
15]ν.	
].	

fr. 3 col. i

3], right side of loop at mid-line level (p?) 4], c or o 5]... , very abraded: dot underneath bottom line, then downward curve high on the line, then triangular letter or part (no visible ink at lower end), λ or ν 6]... , blurred ink and then a vertical, 1 or right part of letter g 7], inconclusive traces 8], ν, dot in top right quadrant 9], ε, dot at bottom-line level and then dots at top and bottom (part of vertical?) 10], possibly]... , dots in bottom left and top right quadrant, then lower end of a curve and traces of a possible upward pointing apex 11], ν, three consecutive dots on torn papyrus close to or at bottom-line level 12], ν, two short parallel verticals, ink or shadow at the top 13], speck

fr. 3 col. ii

2 κ.[, rightward slanting vertical, α or λ suggested 3 τ.[, left end of small curve, o or ω 4 α.[, dot in top left quadrant (τ, γ?); to left of α perhaps marginal ink (but shifted fibres) 5], leftmost edge of curved letter, ε, ο, c, possibly also β 6], lower half of vertical 7], vertical trace, more ink above?

fr. 4 col. i	col. ii
].[...].[
].στην	.ερονδ.[
].βολοις	ονοσαν.[
]καικα	οιτοκαιτ[
5]αυτους	τατηστηχ[
]..φα	καιτατ.[
]α	επι[
]ται	
]ει	
10].	

fr. 4 col. i

2], right part of small curve, o or ω suggested 3], bottom part of slanting stroke and dot in bottom right quadrant 10], dot at top-line level

fr. 4 col. ii

1], space of two letters with scattered inconclusive traces 2 δ., dot in lower left quadrant 3], vertical, 1 or left side of letter; then descender on scattered fibres 6], tips of four consecutive verticals, assumed to belong to two letters

fr. 5	fr. 6	fr. 7	fr. 8	fr. 9
].[	...[	].[	].....[	τε.[
].[	τα[	νη[
		τη.[
		δοξ[

fr. 5 unassignable traces of one letter on each of two lines

fr. 6 1]...[, upright with shallow oblique descending from top, then foot of upright (together μ?), then dot at bottom line level

fr. 7 1], lower end of vertical 3], lower end of slightly slanting vertical 4 ξ[, left half of two horizontals, and speck from centre one

fr. 8 1].....[, traces of short vertical and downward diagonal; possibly κ. Then lower part of two small consecutive loops high in the line. To the right long vertical. Then a dot, at the end middle part of downward diagonal

fr. 1 col. ii ... I am speaking about something that is obscure and unclear. For which reason I think that I will leave aside what concerns them, and I want, which was the next thing, to examine with you the case of the Athenians. Indeed, it has occurred to me that I should reproach them even

more, for, having tried in both directions, or rather with no political system left untried by them, but now ruled by a king, then governed democratically, then again by an oligarchy, and with the present set-up . . .'

fr. 1 col. iii '[. . .] being indigenous [. . .] king [. . .] nobility [. . .] . . .'

fr. 2 col. ii ' . . . gave the opportunity (for them) to enjoy (it) together in turn. For which reason I should not have been surprised, [my dear fellow?], if, forming the assumption that for them this was most pure and most just, so we carried out our own business too in accordance with it. But now it is distorted and things are turned upside down . . . each will conduct their politics . . . they achieve nothing and give up (?). And if the common affairs of Greece also (are handled) the same way . . .'

fr. 1 col. ii

1 δε[. . .]. The only substantial trace of the damaged letters (perhaps two rather than three) is an apparent upright on a thin strip of fibres projecting upwards in the middle of the lacuna. This sentence should contain the reason why the speaker decides to pass on from the subject that he has raised. There are at least two possibilities: (a) he will pass over it because it is 'obscure and unclear' (a mythical or remote society?), i.e. unprofitable to dwell on; (b) he will pass it over because it is not 'obscure and unclear', i.e. the audience knows it already. If (b), there must have been a negative earlier in the sentence; οὐ[δέ]τ[ω] might be a possibility. οὐ[δέ]ν[ε]ν[ε] may also be possible if understood as 'for the benefit of any (of you)'.

1-2 ἀφανούς καὶ ἀδήλου. These words are synonymous according to Hesychius (α 1773: ἀίδηλον· ἀδηλον, ἀφανές). The conjunction of these two words occurs in many authors in a similar context. The earliest attestation of it is in Philolaus (fr. 11 DK), and it is also found in Demosthenes (19.240), Philo (*De officio mundi* 43; *De vita Mosis* 2.164; *De specialibus legibus* 1.200), Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 1.77, 7.139), Lucian (*Par.* 4), Galen (*De theriaca ad Pisonem* α', p. 254 Kühn). Within the scope of the present study only authors up to the end of the 3rd century AD have been included in the list. However, the time-span covered by all authors who use this phrase is very wide, from the 5th century BC to the 10th AD, and although some authors tend to use the words in question more frequently than others, the occurrences are fairly evenly distributed within that time-span. No conclusion can therefore be drawn as to when the conjunction was most in use. Furthermore, the conjunction is attested in various kinds of texts, from oratory to theological writing, and from medical treatises to philosophy.

2-3 τὸν λόγον ποιοῦμαι. This expression, in the first person singular, is not used as often as one would think, and yet it is used in a wider context than expected. The passages where it is attested are: *Lys.* 12.2 and *Pl. Phd.* 70c. It can be observed that the phrase does not only occur in oratory as such, where it would be readily expected, but also in a work written in dialogue form, like the *Phaedo*. This phrase is no help in assessing the possible date of the text, since, apart from the aforementioned two early authors it is also found in authors such as Synesius and Procopius, i.e., the fact that it does not occur in Hellenistic or first-centuries-AD literature does not mean that it is a strictly classical expression.

4 τούτων. The word should refer to a people corresponding to *Ἀθηναίων* through μέν . . . δέ. For possible identifications, see introduction.

5 ἐάσει μοι δοκῶ. This phrase is used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 4, Roberts p. 88), Josephus (*Ap.* 1.28), Plutarch (*Mor.* 763B), Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 2.39, 10.16), Fronto (*Additamentum epistolarum* 5.2), Aelius Aristides (23.13 [p. 519 Jebb]), and Lucian (*Peregr.* 10, *Deor. conc.* 8). There seems to be a concentration of occurrences in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, but this may be accidental.

7 τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The effort to identify this phrase in other texts is of course very different from the previous cases, since it does not aim at finding linguistic equivalents, but rather at clarifying the historical circumstances within which it was written or uttered. Indeed the link between the authors who have used the expression is not a stylistic one, but one that concerns their subject matter:

predictably the phrase is found in Thucydides (1.71.3; 4.79.2; 7.51.1; 8.24.5), as well as Demosthenes (20.106), Diodorus Siculus (13.9.4; 13.37.5; 13.72.1; 14.97.1), Plutarch (*Per.* 15.1), Aelius Aristides (8.5 [p. 401 Jebb]), and Lucian (*Pseudol.* 11).

8-9 βούλομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐξετάσαι. This phrase does not occur anywhere else in this exact form. The use of the words βούλομαι and ἐξετάσαι together is, however, attested in Demosthenes (4 times) and in Aelius Aristides (3 times), as well as at Josephus *Ap.* 1.288 and Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 45.1.3. Professor E. W. Handley observes that the addition of μεθ' ὑμῶν might suggest more dialectic than *epideixis*, but even that has parallels in oratory (e.g. Aeschin. 3.168).

9-12 μοι . . . ἐπελήλυθεν. ἐπέρχεσθαι τι, in the sense of 'to occur to somebody', in the present case to the speaker, is not a common expression. It is found only in Isocr. 15.140 and D. Chr. 37.43.

16-17 πολιτείας ἀπειράτου. The idea of trying out a political system is found in *Lys.* 34.1.

18-22 βασιλευόμενοι . . . δημοκρατούμενοι . . . ὀλιγαρχούμενοι: this is the central idea of the text as we have it. Many ancient authors dealt with the subject of changing constitutions or mixed constitution in antiquity. Note especially a very interesting passage in Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (on 2.546ff., the entry for Athens in the Catalogue of Ships): [. . .] ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ἐμφαίνειν, ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὓς φασιν αἱ ἱστορίαι παντοίας πειραθῆναι ἀρχῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἐβασιλεύθησαν καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέστησαν, εἶτα καὶ ἐτυραννήθησαν καὶ ὕστερον εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μετέηλθον. The wording that the commentator chooses is very close to the one used in the new papyrus; it would indeed be nice to know what are the *ἱστορίαι* that Eustathius has in mind here. It may be taking it somewhat too far to suggest that he is referring to the work contained in the new papyrus, but it seems plausible to assume that there must at least have been a common source for both. In his edition (p. 437) van der Valk suggests that Eustathius added the comment ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι because he already was familiar with the idea of democracy as a highly regarded form of constitution by Athenian authors, through the comedies of Aristophanes, the *Hellenica* of Xenophon, and *Lysias*.

22-3 τῇ παρουσίῃ κ[α]ταστ[ά]σει. The supplement is based on palaeographical (two letters, not one, missing) and stylistic grounds (the scribe normally uses adscript elsewhere; see introduction).

The expression ἡ παρούσα κατάστασις is very common in ancient Greek literature; occurrences of it span the whole period from Isocrates and Polybius to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and are found in every kind of prose work: history, oratory, medical treatises and theological writing. The word *κατάστασις* can, as it seems, describe most things, and may in a general sense be described as 'circumstance'. The predominant area where the expression occurs, and where it must be seen almost as a *terminus technicus*, is medicine: Galen uses the phrase sixteen times to describe a present state of health, and it is similarly used by Oribasius, Aëtius, Stephanus, and Paulus. More relevant to the present usage is the way the word is used by Plutarch in *περὶ μοναρχίας* (*Mor.* 826E) to define the meaning of *πολιτεία*: *παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται πολιτεία τάξις καὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διοικοῦσα τὰς πράξεις*.

Here it seems that the author is summing up his argument, and the long sentence, which started in line 9, and whose secondary clause still has no verb, can come to an end. There are two possibilities for the function of *κατάστασις*: one is that it summed up the theme of changing from one thing to another, i.e. 'and [never satisfied] with the present setup'. Professor D. A. Russell suggested that then the sense to be supplied may be *μηδέποτε ἐμμένοντες* or something along those lines, to show that the Athenians are criticised for never being content with any state of affairs, but being thoroughly unstable. In that case, *παρούση* is a relative term, and no assumption has to be made as to the date of composition. For the other possibility to seem plausible it is necessary to assume that this is a classical work, or at least early Hellenistic: in this case 'present' could refer to the actual time of writing/delivering the speech. The speaker, after he has enumerated the various forms of constitution used in the not-too-remote past, is about to add the one in use at the time of composition. If the latter were

the case, it is really unfortunate that the papyrus breaks at this point, since the knowledge of the exact form of constitution at the time of composition would be invaluable in attempting to date the text.

fr. 1 col. iii

In trying to reconstruct the broken text of col. iii we have two basic indications. (a) To judge from col. ii, the average line-length should be c.14 letters. (b) Some elements suggest that the subject of Athens is still being discussed, in 10–11 *αὐτοχθόνων* and in 18 *ἐγγενεῖας* and possibly 23, if we articulate the letters as *ὁ Θηγεῖς*. Autochthony and noble ancestry are a topos in Athenian self-definition—see J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (1989) 261–3—and Theseus of course plays a large part in Athenian patriotic myth as the founder of the state and descendant of the first autochthones (Plu. *Thes.* 3.1).

11 γε. [The final trace, the foot of an upright, would allow γ, η, ι, κ, λ, ν, π (not ρ, whose vertical tends to reach below the line). γε might form a word on its own. If not, one could consider γέγ[oc or some case of this word; for passages in which the word occurs in the context of autochthony; see e.g. E. *Ion* 590, D. Chr. 64.12, Plu. *Thes.* 3.1. Alternatively, in accordance with the normal tendency to connect all the clues one has, one could look for a longer word which continues in the next line: thus γεχ[ενημέ]ων would fit the traces and also the expected space; γεγ[ομέ]ων would be too short.

12 υ. See note on previous line.

προφερ. If this is indeed one word, it could belong either to the verb *προφέρω/προφέρομαι* or to the adjective *προφερής*. The verb offers more possibilities, since the adjective, common in poetry, is not common in prose, and where it is found (see Aeschin. 1.49; Pl. *Euthd.* 271b) it means 'looking older than one is', which would have to be rather forced to fit the context.

14–15 The author/speaker here refers to a past king of Athens (*βασιλεύς*), historical or mythical, or to the state of being governed by kings (*βασιλεύς*).

17 τι. The gap in this line caused by a vertical split appears deceptively large, as the right-hand part of the surviving papyrus has been displaced to the right (cf. below, ω of -τω). Once the papyrus is adjusted, then the space reduces so that the next letter might fill it. τι may either be a word in itself, or *ἀντί* etc.

Palaeographically it is almost certain that the following letter is τ, but the remote possibility that it may be c should be noted: where articulation is concerned, one would then be inclined to divide after τic; it might be a word in itself, or the end of a word in the line above: a noun like *πολίτις*, *μάντις*, *πίστις*, *πρεσβύτις*, an Athenian tribe (*Λεοντίς*, *Ακαμαντίς*, *Ίπποχθοντίς*, *Αλιαντίς*), and much else.

18 τῆς ἐγγενεῖας. As regards the meaning see line 10, note.

18–19 εἰ|κότως ἄν. A common collocation; one could think of *εἰ|κότως ἄν εἰ|πτοι* or something along those lines. According to the occurrences of this collocation in literature, there does not seem to be an obvious common formula.

20 με|κροῦδε. The best, if not the only way of articulating the given letters in this line would be *με|κροῦ δε|ίν*, or with another form of the verb. This solution was suggested by Professor Parsons. The phrase would suit the style of the text, and would fit the given space. The κ is not easy to read, since it occurs in a very damaged point in the papyrus. What is more, the fibre containing its top diagonal has been displaced, and that stroke now looks like a horizontal. If that is rectified, then the shape conforms with that of κ. The main difficulty then is the use of iotacistic spelling, in a papyrus that does not, in other respects, seem prone to do so. This is not a unique occurrence, and Gignac gives a short list of occasions when a long ι is replaced by ει, also containing the word *μεικρός* (*Grammar* i 190).

21 δε may be the word *δέ* or end of a longer word such as *οἶδε*.

21–2 -cθε. These letters, presumably the ending of a verb in the second person plural, must

belong to a rather short word, if it must be accommodated with the end of *γεγονα* in the line above. The latter could be any form of *γέγονα* apart from the third singular. Depending on which form it is more or less space will be left for the word ending in -cθε.

22 παραπα. Although there are several words beginning with this sequence of letters, almost 80% of all occurrences of the sequence are with the adverb *παράπαν*. Normally, however, one would expect to find the word preceded by the article *τό*; indeed, according to LSJ, "in correct writers always joined with Article". Certainly none of the Attic writers ever use it without an article, and many of the occurrences are rather late. It must be taken into account however that *παράπαν* without the article is attested also in writers that are highly esteemed: Thucydides uses it in a speech of Alcibiades (6.18.7); Hippocrates describing symptoms (*Epid.* 7.1.80); Aristotle explaining matters of anatomy (*PA* 650a); Theophrastus on the growth of plants (*CP* 2.7.2); Theopompus (*FGH* 115 F 27)—but possibly paraphrased by Polybius (8.9.1), who habitually uses the word without an article (*Hist.* 3.26.4, 5.18.6, 5.60.7, 11.12.3); Simylus (*SH* fr. 327); Josephus in narrative (*AJ* 15.194); Lucian (*DMort.* 3.2); Pausanias on the nymphs (*Gr. desc.* 10.31.10); and Dio Cassius in narrative (*Hist. Rom.* 26.89.2, 75.4.4).

Assuming that the text indeed read *παράπαν* here, this would be a point of considerable interest, even capable of helping to narrow down the various possibilities of authorship of this text. The above discussion has been added only to point out this fact. Of course it is equally possible to divide the letters *παρά* *πάρ* *πάρ*, etc.

23 δυ[.] νοθη. The last four letters could represent the beginning of *ὁ Θηγεῖς*, which would fit in very well with the Athenian theme. If this is correct, one still has to reconstruct the word before it. The letter before ν could be η or ι with something to its left, and the one after δυ cannot have reached above line-level, since no ink is visible on the papyrus surviving at the top. Although several words match the given traces, I have not thought of a convincing supplement that fits the sense of the passage.

fr. 2 col. i

The lines of col. ii range between 14 and 17 letters; two-thirds of them count 14 or 15. The restored transcript of col. i assumes 15 letters per line, simply as a rough guide.

1]ερανον. Part of *περαίνω* or *δυσχεραίνω*?

2 κωνω. . . Another reference to *κωνά*. The wider context cannot be recovered, but it seems that the matter of *κωνά* was not just a passing reference before, but rather the main issue in this part of the work. Perhaps] *τῶν κωνῶν*.

3] . ι.]ci likely? A plural verb, to whose subject *cfâc* (4) refers?

13 παρουνι. . . [*παροῦσι*(ν)? But the last two traces are minimal, so that e.g. *παρουσιαν* could be considered.

14 κωνόν. The use of this word here may be irrelevant, if it is meant to be a simple adjective meaning 'common'. If not, i.e. if it is used as *terminus* pertinent to matters of political organization, the fact that it is in the singular is very interesting, because it would indicate that the other references to *κωνά* are more likely to signify different Hellenic leagues, rather than simply mean 'public affairs'. This would be in line with the tone of the more legible parts of the work, namely of the comparison between the different political setups of certain city-states.

E.g. *εἰς τὸ κωνὸν συντελεσ[λ-]*, then *κατὰ λό[γον]*, 'proportionately', or *κατάλο[γον]*, 'register' (for compulsory military service)? Aristid. 1 (*Παναθηναϊκός*) p. 133. Jebb *οὐ γὰρ μέρος εἰς τὸ κωνὸν εἰσήμεκαν, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ πάντων συντέλεια μέρος τῶν ἰδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο*.

fr. 2 col. ii

4–5 ἐπ' ἐδαιμ[ονία (-ίαν, -ίαν), then κατὰ]ταστασε. [or με]ταστασε. [? That would suggest a participle in -τασε, or a noun in -τασις (for *κατάστασις* see fr. 1 ii 23). It seems that the last trace

would allow iota, but not omega: e.g. ἐπ' εὐδαιμ[ονίας κα]τατάσσει? or ἐπ' εὐδαιμ[ονι τῆι κα]τατάσσει (cf. D. Chr. 36.32)?

7 τοῖς τυχοῦ[σι(ν)]? There is no obvious noun for the participle to qualify. Perhaps it was used as a noun in itself. ἐν/ἐπι τοῖς τυχοῦσιν often means 'for trivial reasons', 'in everyday conditions'; οἱ τυχόντες can mean 'anybody', 'ordinary people' (e.g. Isocrates 10.21). The latter might suit the context, if it concerns common participation (8) in the resources of happiness (4).

7-8 εἴν μὲρρει δὲ συναπολαύειν? Cf. DS 9.20 ὁ Πειρίστρατος παρεκάλει τὸν Κόλωνα τὰς ἡσυχίας ἔχειν καὶ τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀγαθῶν συναπολαύειν.

9-16 This sentence presents several problems. (i) What is τοῦτ' (11) and αὐτό (15) (assuming that this is the same)? (ii) Who are ἀτρός (11), and who are 'we' (16)? (iii) What is the construction of ὑποστη|κάμενοι (13-14)? Commonly with double accusative 'assuming' ('taking as a premise') 'that X (is) Y', but if the reference here is to a past constitution we should need to understand the omitted infinitive as a past tense. (iv) What is the meaning of τὰ ἴδια (15)—'private' affairs as distinct from public, or 'our own' affairs as against those of other groups? and how do these affairs relate to τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (23)?

11 . . . ε. If the reading and articulation are correct, ε ends a word. I have considered π[ο]τε, but τ would be anomalous, since the upright crosses and projects above the horizontal; there is also the difficulty of supplying the single letter before it. Alternatively, this may have been a singular vocative: an address to the opponent in a speech, or to the dedicatee of a treatise, or to a participant in a dialogue? The first trace is minimal; then a long horizontal; before ε a long medial horizontal. I have not found a proper name that would fit. However, ᾠγαθέ may well suit the ink; the crossbar of θ would be very long, but compare fr. 1 ii 12 θε, 19 θι. This address occurs commonly in Plato's dialogues, and hence in Plutarch and Lucian (for a survey of usage, see E. Dickie, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 277-8); if recognized here, it would have implications for the genre. The singular address would not necessarily be inconsistent with the plural ὑμῶν in fr. 1 ii 8; compare Plu. *Mor.* 928ε ᾠγαθέ . . . ὑμῶν ('you and people like you'), Lucian *Anach.* 6 ὑμῶν ('you Scythians') . . . ᾠγαθέ ('you, Anacharsis').

16 διωκούμεθα. The only point in the whole of the preserved text that the author uses a first-person plural verb. This can be significant in either of two ways: the first possibility is that the author/speaker includes himself in the group of people that he is addressing. This may be because of common ethnic identity or because of political alliance against a common enemy. The fact that in fr. 1 col. ii he was addressing the audience in the second person plural might then be underlining a difference between him and the audience that has less to do with identity and more with degree of knowledgeability and sound judgement. Thus, even if the author belongs to the same ethnic group as his audience, the second person plural is needed to give his address the authoritative lecturing tone that he is aiming at.

The second possibility is that this is a simple reference to the author's own *polis*, which is different to the one his audience belongs to. This in its turn may mean that the political setup of Athens is compared to the city where the author comes from, rather than that of the audience, or that Athens is compared to both cities. If this is not the case, then the function of the reference to the author's city is not clear, unless it is a random example.

Since the context of this line, as well as of several more above and below it, can not be reconstructed, it is important to consider the possibility that the syntactical construction might be aimed at expressing something different, and thus the remains of it may be misleading. For example it could be that part of the text, including the first-person plural verb, is a quotation used as a rhetorical device.

16-19 νῦν [δ]ε | διατέτραπται. The verb might mean 'be diverted' or 'be distracted' from the policy recommended. But what was the singular subject? The concept represented by τοῦτ' . . . αὐτό (11-15)? or e.g. ἡ πόλις, ὁ δῆμος from the context?

18-19 τᾶν κάτω γεγένηται. The reading of the last word is made difficult by damage and distortion of the surface (but spacing seems to exclude εγεν[ετ]ο). A proverbial phrase (τὸ λεγόμενον Pl. *Th.* 153D, Men. fr. 405 KA), attested also in Dem. 25.75 and various passages of New Comedy (Antiph. fr. 534.5, Men. fr. 10.2, Nicol. fr. 1.8, Philem. fr. 92.13 KA, Comp. Men. et Phil. II 106). In similar context, Plu. *Mor.* 216B.

20-21 πολιτεύουσιν seems clear (not πολιτεύουσιν). The scholia to Thucydides explain the verb as κατὰ πολιτείαν ἐνεργεῖν (sch. to 2.46) and πράττειν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς πολιτείας (sch. to 4.114). The verb is more commonly used in the middle voice, and the active seems to be more popular with earlier and later writers rather than classical ones. It is predominantly used by historians and, to a lesser degree, by orators. There are also a very few philosophers and theologians who use the active voice. Of the Attic orators only Demosthenes uses πολιτεύειν in the active voice (18.131, 198, 313; 21.207; 22.66). The occurrences in his speeches are, however, very few and vastly outnumbered by those of the middle and passive voice.

21-2 ἀνιάσιν or ἀνίαςιν, depending on whether the form comes from ἀνίημι ('slacken', 'cease') or ἀνειμι ('rise', 'approach', 'return'). The context, as far as it can be inferred, would favour the former option. But there is a further ambiguity in οὐδὲν πράττοντες. The negative might go closely with the participle, 'achieving nothing they give up', or with the verb, 'they do not in any way give up achieving'.

23 τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. The only other occurrence of this phrase is in fr. 6 of the *Διῶκοι Λόγοι* as τὰ κοινὰ τὰς Ἑλλάδος. There are however a few attestations of the phrase τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, but in most of those the word κοινὰ is used as a simple attributive adjective, referring to δίκαια, νόμιμα, πράγματα, χρήματα, or as predicate adjective, as in the case of πάντα εἶναι κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Ath. 250F), κοινὰ τὰ κείνου πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶναι (Lib. *Ep.* 982.1), κοινὰ δὲ ποιεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀγαθὰ (Lib. *Decl.* 5.1.50), κοινὰ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίει (Lib. *Progn.* 8.3.11). The only similar use of the word κοινὰ occurs in Lucian *Pseudol.* 9 τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγνοοῦντα, and Aristid. 1 p. 166 Jebb τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευόμενοι.

M. MALOUTA

III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

5027–5030. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *ARGONAUTICA*

Four fragments from different book-rolls of the *Argonautica*, all of the second or third century AD. The texts have been collated with the editions of H. Fränkel (1961) and F. Vian and E. Delage (1974–81); Vian's sigla have been adopted.

5027. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *ARGONAUTICA* II 141–50

31 4B.12/A(3–7)a

9.2 × 6 cm

Third century

Fragment of a roll, broken on the right and at the top and bottom, with ten lines of Book ii of the *Argonautica*. At the left the intercolumnium is preserved to 4 cm. The back is blank. The hand looks the same as that of IX 1179 (pl. 1; *Argon.* ii 101–10), which shows also the same letter-height and line-spacing; probably the two fragments come from the same roll. The text is written along the fibres in a medium-sized upright and very regular hand, strictly bilinear except for ρ and φ, a relatively early example of the 'biblical' majuscule (see, e.g., μ made in four movements, and the horizontally extended ω): see Cavallo, *RMB* I 50, who would assign 1179 to the late third or early fourth century. The strokes drawn downwards with the full breadth of the nib are thick in contrast to the fine horizontal strokes (cf. η, τ, ε) or oblique strokes made with the edge of the nib (cf. ν, λ, κ). λ is angular and broad, γ is angular and Y-shaped; the loop of φ is a broad oval. Small blobs appear at the apex of λ and the top ends of some verticals, and also at the ends of the cross-bars of τ and τ. Marks of elision may have been added by a different hand; the elision mark in 145 is placed above θ rather than after it, just like the elision mark above τ in 1179 109. A trace of a square rough breathing is visible above ο in 145 (cf. η̄ in 1179 103); a trace of a circumflex on the ι of ηρακλεῖα in 146, one of the rare cases where the circumflex is on the second vowel of a diphthong, as in XXIV 2387 fr. 3 ii 10 and 15. The thin horizontal line above the circumflex does not seem to be part of a correction.

In the intercolumnar space, c.6 mm to the left of the column and on a level just below v. 144, is a heavy dot. Its purpose is unclear (it can hardly mark the beginning of direct speech). If it served to mark alignment (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 91–9), we might have expected to see another lower down.

Our fragment does not offer any new variants. The passage is preserved also in XXXIV 2697.

α]ι[ει
 οι δ̄ [ηδη ετ]α[θμους
 ηδη δ' αςπε[
 ηρωες και δη [
 145 φρ[α]ζεσθ' δ̄ττ[ι] κ[εν
 ει πως Ηρακλεῖα [
 ητο[ι] μ̄εν γαρ εγ[ω
 ο]υ[δ̄ αν π]υγμαχι[ηι
 150 ηλυ[θεν] εξερ[ε]ω[ν
 θεσμ[οις]ν ροπα[λαιο

142 οι δ̄ [: Fränkel's conjecture οἱ μὲν δὴ is not confirmed.

146 Ηρακλεῖα for -ῆα could be an itacistic error, but the same spelling recurs in BKT IX 120 (*Il.* 15.25) and consistently in Apollodorus' quotations of *Meropis* (fr. 2–3 Bernabé) in P. Köln III 126, both papyri of 1 BC. Some Ptolemaic papyri of Homer offer similar forms from proper names like Ἀχλλεύς (S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (1967) 116–17), forms recognized in the grammatical tradition and classified as 'later ionic/aeolic'; see e.g. *Epim. Hom.* 5 B² (I pp. 79–80 Dyck).

I. KARAMANOU

5028. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *ARGONAUTICA* II 694–708

41 4B.10/C(1–3)a

7.7 × 11.4 cm

Third century

Two fragments from the top of a column, with an upper margin of 2.5 cm, have been joined together to form a piece of fifteen consecutive lines; one small scrap remains unplaced. Back blank. The script, in black ink, is angular, of medium size, leaning slightly to the right, with a strong contrast between broad and narrow letters. The hand is strikingly similar to that of XXXIV 2700 (AR 1.169–74, 202–43); even though some small differences can be seen (e.g. the γ tends to descend slightly lower in 2700), it is tempting to attribute both papyri to the same scribe, who may also have copied PSI XV 1479 (AR 1.583–5). However, this type of hand, the 'Severe Style', is common in the third century: see L. del Corso, 'Lo "stile severo" nei P. Oxy.: una lista', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 81–100.

The copyist has added accents (acute in 694, 695, 697 thrice, 700, 704, 705, 706 twice, 707; circumflex: 704, 705; grave: 698, 703), punctuation (high stop: 698, 704, 707), a rough breathing (697) and diaeresis (700, 703). Long ι and υ are marked with a horizontal stroke. Of the two corrections (see on 699 and 700), the first is due to the copyist, the second to a different hand. The papyrus offers a new reading in 701 (ἱερὸν χορὸν for the manuscripts' εὐρὸν χορὸν), which may be a variant rather than just a mistake.

694 ως αρ εφη και τοι] μεν άφαρ βωμον τετ[υκοντο
 695 χερμασιν οι δ αν]α ν[ης]ον εδίνεον [εξερεοντες
 ει κε τιν η κεμαδ]ων η αγροτερων εσιδ[οιεν
 αιγων οια τε πολλα] βαθείηι βόσκεται ἔλλι[
 τοις δε Αητοιδης α]γρην πορευ' εκ δε νυ παν[των
 ευαγεως ιερω ανα] διπλοα μηρια β[ωμω'] [
 700 καιον επικλειοντε]ς ιήιον Απολ[λωνα] [
 αμφι δε δαιομενοις] ιερων χορον εκ[τησα]ντο [
 καλον Ιηπαιηον Ιη]παιηονα Φο[ιβο]ν [
 μελπομενοι συν δε ς]φιν εϋς παις Οιαγροιο [
 Βιστονη φορμιγγι] λιγείης ήρχεν αοιδης [
 705 ως ποτε πετραιηι υπο] δειράδι Παρηγρσοίο [
 Δελφυνην τοξοιςι π]ελώριον ε[ξε]ν[α]ριξε[ν
 κουρος εων ετι γυμνο]ς' έτι πλοκ[αμ]οιςι γεγ[ηθωσ
 ιληκοις αιει τοι αναξ α]τμητο[ι εθειραι] [

694 μέν with G (*ex coniectura*) and again Stephanus (Genève 1574): om. Ω.

695 εδινεον as in Ω: εδίνεον Σ', εδύνεον Ε, εθύνεον Δ.

698 δε νυ with Ω: δ' άρα ΡΕ.

699 βωμῶ codd. The scribe has added ι above the last letter, perhaps correcting βωμον or βωμων.

700 ιήιον: έώιον Ω. Two letters have been added above the line, apparently by a second hand. The small letter above]c appears to be ο, not ε, but the ω above ή may be an attempt to correct ιηιον to εωιον. ιήιος ('invoked by the cry ιή') is less relevant in the context than έώιος ('of the Dawn'), which is found, in relation to the god, only at *Argon.* 2.686 and here.

701 ιερων: εϋρὸν codd.; in view of the context, perhaps a preferable variant: 'sacred' to Apollo, Lord of the Dawn. Cf. [Hes.] *Sa.* 201, *Ar. Nub.* 271, *Ran.* 686, and *Opp. Cyneg.* 4.255.

704 λιγείης ήρχεν as in Ω, ΕGen, ΕM: καλής εξήρχεν Tzetzes (PQ), καλής εξήδεν Tzetzes (H).

705 δειραδι as in Ω ΕGen, Tzetzes (HP): -ασι Ε^{AD}, -αδος Tzetzes (Q).

Παρηγρσοίο as LEΣ^L: -ησοίο SGΣ^A ΕGen, Tzetzes (HP), -α(ς)οίο AD Tzetzes (Q).

M. DE GROOTE

5029. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, ARGONAUTICA III 1128-43

B 32.A5, Layer 887

9.8 × 15.4 cm

Early second century

A very tattered and abraded fragment, broken on all sides, preserves the beginnings of fifteen lines from Book iii of the *Argonautica* on the back of a documentary text. On the left, there are faint traces of the last letters of the preceding column; the intercolumnar space is very generous, reaching approximately 3.6 cm in the middle of the fragment. The text is written across the fibres in a medium-

sized, upright, rounded hand similar to that of XVIII 2161 (*GMAW*² 24); λ with loop, apices of α and λ with serifs, η with high cross-bar. Bilinearity is broken only by ρ and φ. No accents or punctuation; elision is marked in 1137 and possibly 1140. Some corrections, apparently by the scribe's hand, in 1138 and 1140.

No other papyrus preserving this passage has as yet been published. The papyrus offers two interesting variants; it omits 1136, and presents 1139 in a form that appears to be markedly different from the medieval tradition. Neither of these variants seem to be simple scribal errors.

ημετερον] δε [
 π[ορσανεεις
 1130 αλ[λο
 ως φ[ατο
 .[μ]πη[ς
 ςχ[ε]τλιη ου με[ν
 Ελλαδα ναιετα[
 1135 οφρα κακον Π[ε]λιη
 1137 ηδη δ' αμφι[π]ολ[οι
 αιγη[ν]ι' ανιαζεσ[ον
 [α]ψ δ αυτις δ[.] [
 1140 η δ' [ο]π[ω]κ[μ]ι[δ]ης [
 θυμ[ο]ς ο[μ]ω[ς
 ει μη [α]ρ Αις[ον]ιδη[ς
 ω]ρη [α]π[ο]βλωσκειω

1136 (*Αίαίη Μήδεια λιπούσα πατρίδα γαίαν* Ω, unmetrically: λιπούσα γε S, λιπούς' άπο Köchly) is omitted. The omission can hardly be due to *homoioleuton* or *homoiarchon* (for such cases, see M. W. Haslam, *ICS* 3 (1978) 62 n. 41). However emphatic, the explicit reference to Medea and the abandonment of her homeland is not indispensable for the understanding of this passage, as the preceding lines 1131-4 clearly refer to her and her eventual decision to follow Jason to Greece. The same idea and similar phrasing recur at 4.242 f. ὄφρ' ὠκιστα κακὸν Πελῖαο δόμοισιν / Αίαίη Μήδεια Πελαγίδα γαίαν ἔκηται, evidently following Pherecydes fr. 105 Fowler ὡς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῶ Πελῖα κακόν; cf. R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautica, Book III* (1989) 223. In 4.243, however, Medea's name needs to be explicitly mentioned, as there is no reference to her in the previous lines. In the light of the latter passage it seems possible that 3.1136 was interpolated by someone who thought that Medea's name needed to be explicitly stated. Another sign suggestive of interpolation is that the phrase πατρίδα γαίαν occurs nowhere else in Apollonius, but 78 times in Homer (cf. in particular *Od.* 18.257 λιπὼν κατά πατρίδα γαίαν) and so may have occurred to an interpolator as a common epic formula. These factors might suggest that the omission of 3.1136 should be regarded not as scribal carelessness, but as a variant that may deserve consideration.

1139 [α]ψ δ αυτις δ[.]. [(the second Δ is unusually broad): ἀψ οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι ἔην μετὰ μητέρα κούρην L A S (εἰς οἶκον δὲ E, ἀψ ἐς οἶκον δὲ G). The phrase ἀψ δ' αυτις occurs also at *Argon.* 2.88, and αυτις is found in similar contexts, cf. *Argon.* 4.439f. αυτις ὀπίσσω / βαίη ἐς Αἰήτῳ δόμους and 3.649f. μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ' αυτις ὀπίσσω / στρεφθεῖς. The δ', however, is out of place here, since there is a connective δέ in the preceding line, and might be a mechanical error due to ἡ δ' in the next line. As for the rest of the line, the conjecture closest to the medieval tradition might be ἀψ δ' αυτις δ[η] νείσθαι ἔην μετὰ μητέρα κούρην (for αυτις δῆ cf. 4.1418f.; for νείσθαι cf. 2.1138 and 3.431). δῆ frequently accompanies temporal adverbs for emphasis, and builds on the idea that time is running short (cf. 1.655, 782, 4.939 καὶ ῥ' ὅτε δῆ 'and when at last . . .', expressing impatience), as opposed to Medea's lack of concern about time (1140).

I. KARAMANOU

5030. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *ARGONAUTICA* IV 77–87

B.3 3/5(d)1

5.5 × 8.5 cm

Early second century

Fragment from the bottom of a column with a lower margin of 3.5 cm, written in a practised upright bookhand that belongs in general terms to the formal round type as described by Turner, *GMAW*² p. 25. This type is found in a wide range of hands from the first century BC to the third AD; it is characterized by broad round letters, long ι, φ, ψ, and serifs at the feet of κ, ν, τ, and γ pointing left. Close parallels are P. Berol. 6869 (Homer, *Iliad*: M–P³ 0571; Schubart, *Griech. Paläographie* fig. 73) and P. Berol. 6926 (*Ninus Romance*: M–P³ 2616; Seider, *Paläographie* ii.2, pl. XIV 27), the latter bearing on the back a document of 100/101. The fragment may therefore be dated to the beginning of the 2nd century. Back blank.

Punctuation (high stops) marking the ends of sentences in verses 81, 83, and 85 seems to have been added later, as there is no space for it between letters. On *στιγμαί*, see *GMAW*² pp. 11–12 with examples and bibliography; also Parsons on XLIX 3454.

Among the Apollonius papyri, IV 692 (2nd cent.) contains parts of almost the same lines (*Argon.* 4.77–90) and overlaps in lines 80–87. Apart from two minor mistakes (see on 80 and 83), the text agrees with the MSS.

80 ηρωες μετὰ τῆνγε θοοις ε]λα[ακρον ερετμοις
ουπω πεισματα νηος επ] ηπει[ροιο περαιης
βαλλον ο δε κραιπνου]ς χερσωι πο[δας ηκεν Ιακων
υψου απ ικριοφιν μετὰ δ]ε Φροντις. [
υιε δυω Φριξου χαμαδις] θορον' η δ' αρα το[υςγε
γουνων αμφοτερησι πε]ριςχομενη [προσειπεν
εκ με φιλοι ρυσασθε δυσα]μμορον' εκ δε κα[ι αυτους
υμεας Αιητῳ προ γαρ τ ανα]φανδα τετυκτα[ι

85 παντα μαλ ουδε τι μηχος ι]κανεται' αλλ επ[ι νηι
φευγωμεν πριν τονγε θο]ων επιβημεναι ι[ππων
δωσω δε χρυσειον εγω δερο]ς ευνησαζα

80 φροντις. [: Φρόντις τε καὶ Ἄργος Ω. The letter after φροντις is square, therefore neither Δ nor ε, but possibly η or κ. Above the c of φροντις is a horizontal stroke, slightly curved, like a circumflex, above which the papyrus is broken; it is too low to be the δ of ποδας in 79. There are, however, no other accents in this papyrus, and a circumflex would be out of place here anyway. If the stroke above c is the baseline of a Δ, one might suspect that φροντις και was written, with δ added above c: possibly δ' (= δέ) ?

83 εκ δε κα[ι αυτους: ὄς δὲ καὶ Ω. Probably just a mistake (repetition of the ἐκ at the beginning of the verse), as Apollonius is not fond of this kind of *anaphora*.

85 επ[ι: ἐπὶ Ω, ἐνὶ Brunck. Of the second letter, only the top remains; if it is the top of an upright, it might be the first upright of ν as in *εχομενη* 82,]κανεται 85, βημεναι 86, ευνησαζα 87, where the descending diagonal begins just below the top of the first upright. If so, it would confirm Brunck's conjecture, which Fränkel and Livrea have adopted. But as the surface to the right of this trace is broken, it might be part of the cross-bar of π.

86 In επιβημεναι, η seems to have been corrected from α.

L. GUICHARD

5031. DEMOSTHENES, *OR.* XX (*ADV. LEPTINEM*) 34, 37

28 4B.61/G(10-11)

8.2 × 6.5 cm

Third century

Fragment of a roll, broken on all sides, with remains of two columns: of col. i, only the last letters of seven lines remain; of col. ii, the greater part of nine lines, written along the fibres in a fairly large and slightly sloping hand of the earlier part of the third century, very similar to that of III 462 (*De corona* = M–P³ 277, LDAB 714) and possibly identical with the hand of XLVIII 3375 (Herodotus i 61). The back is blank.

The scribe uses paragraphus and punctuation (high dot, col. ii 6), but no accents. Deletion of letters is indicated by superscript dots (see on col. ii 6–7). The average number of letters per line is 17. On this basis, and unless a passage has been left out between §34 and §37, the roll will have had columns of c.46 or 47 lines, which would have been c.36 cm high. This would suggest an unusually tall roll: with the upper and lower margins, it would have been at least 40 cm high, which would be quite unparalleled among Greek book rolls from Egypt. The tallest roll listed in Johnson's table 3.3 is XXXII 2641 (Hesiod, *Theogony*: column height 29.3 cm, roll height 34.4 cm); see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 185–200.

Apart from the inversion of ἐστῶσας ἀκῦρους in col. ii 3–4, there are no variants. The text has been collated with the editions of C. Fuhr and J. Sykutris (1937) and M. R. Dilts (2005).

]αγνο νομο]ς αφ]αι ατελεια]γ 5 κα]ι].]]]	§34	κ[αι ποιειν αι τι προ θυμουμ[ενος υμας ευ υμικ δε ακυρο]υς εστω κα' πεποιηκοτε]ς ο πο λυ δεινοτερον τρο]υ κα θελεω' αυτ[αι γαρ ουτω ει τ[ο]υ βου]λομενοις [κατ]α της [πολεως βλα [σφη]μειν [τεκμηριον [§37
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col. ii

3 l. υμ(ε)ικ δ'.

3-4 ακυρο]υς εστω]ς: ἐστώσας ἀκύρους codd.

4 The addition of ἐσεθε before πεποιηκότες (S^c F) is not confirmed. There is a short rising oblique stroke at the end of κα: it is, however, not clear whether this is meant to be a reference mark, possibly to an addition in the margin.

6 The addition of ἐστιν after καθελεῖν (F A P) is not confirmed.

6-7 ουτω]ι: it is not clear why the last syllable has been deleted (οὐτωί codd.).

H. MAEHLER

5032. HOMER, *ILIAD* XX 50-63, 82-152

B 3:1 Layers A+B

Fr. 17 × 8.3 cm

Second/third century

Fragments of a roll, containing the remains of two columns; the writing runs along the fibres, the verso is blank. No traces of the intercolumnium, upper and lower margins only in part preserved: the maximum upper margin, above col. ii, is 2.2 cm, the maximum lower, below col. ii, is 1.5 cm. Columns of originally 50 verses (col. i contained vv. 50-101, col. ii 102-151, with an omission, see below), 29.5 cm high, 11 cm wide. The roll may have contained at least two books of the *Iliad*: book xx being 503 vv. long, and requiring 2.10 columns, book xix (424 vv.) or xxi (611) being possibly the other, to make a roll of 20 columns and about 2.5 m. long. See, for similar dimensions, XLVII 3323 (of the same period and of a similar, though more accurate, version of the 'formal mixed style'), which probably contained books xv and xvi (746 + 867 vv.), with columns of similar height.

The text is written in a skilled, fluent, rapid hand of the so-called 'formal mixed' or 'severe' style, and the well-rounded shape of most of the letters suggests a date near the end of the second or beginning of the third century; see M. S. Fun-

ghi, G. Messeri Savorelli, 'Sulla scrittura di P. Oxy II 223 + P. Köln V 210', *AnPap* 1 (1989) 40-41. Frequent accents, occasional breathings (150) and marks of quantity (105), marks of elision and punctuation by high and middle stop are visible; in addition, at least two paragraphi mark the beginnings of speeches (86, where Aeneas speaks, and 103, Apollo). The most interesting feature of this text—which, in the main, confirms the well-known textual standardization of the Homeric witnesses of the imperial age—are the remnants of critical notes written in the margins (whether these are all due to the first or to another hand it is very hard to establish).

In the very scanty remains of marginalia, no parallels with the medieval scholiastic tradition can be found. In the upper margin of col. ii, remains of a verse omitted in the text can be seen.

The collation is based on the edition of M. L. West (2001).

col. i

50	ακταω]ν εριδουπων μακρον αυτει ετερω]θεν ερεμν[ηι] λαιλαπι ιςος πο]λιος Τρωεσσι κελεύων] θεων επι Καλλικο[λ]ωνη[ι]. αμφοτερ]ους μακαρες θεοι οτρυ]αν[τες]	
55	ερι]δα ρήγνυντο βαρε]ι]αν πατ]ηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε Πο]σειδαων ετιναξε .p[ορω]ν τ [αιπει]να κάρην[α]. ποδε]ς π[ολ]υπειδακος Ει]δης 60 πο]λις και νηες Α[χ]αιω]ν α]ναξ ενερων Αιδω]νευς] έιαχε μή οι υ]περθε 63 Ποσειδαω]ν ε[νοσιχθων]. . [
	[vv. 65-81 lost]	
82	πρ]ο[σφη βουληφορ]ε π[ου υπ]ιχ[εο] ομ[οποταζων 85] Αχιλλη[ος] εναντιβιον [πτολεμιξειν] Αινειας [απ]αμειβο'με]νο]ς π'ρ[ο]ς[εειπεν Πρ[ιαμιδη τι μ]ε τ[αυτ]α και ουκ εθε]λοντα] κε[λ]ευει]ς Πηλε]ϊ[ωνος] υ]περθυμοιο μ[αχεσθ]αι] πρωτ[α ποδωκεος αν]τ' Αχιλ[λ]η[ος]	

90] φοβησεν
 [εξ Ἰδης οτε βουσιν επηλυθεν ημετερησιν]
 αυταρ ε]με Ζευς
 ειρυσα]θ' ο[σ μοι επωρσε μενος λαυσηρ]α [τε γουνα
 η κ ε]δαμ[ην] υπ[ο χερσιν Αχιλλη]ο[σ] και [Αθηνης
 95 ἡ οι πρ[οσθε]ν ιου[σ]α τιθει φαοσ] ηδ εκελε[υ]εν
 εγχει χα[λκειωι Λελεγασ και Τρ]ωας εναυρ[ειν
 τῶ ουκ ε]στ]
 αιει γ[α]ρ π[αρ εεις γ]ε θεων ο[σ λουγ]ον αμυν[ει
 κα]ι δ αλλ[ωσ του γ] ει[θυ] β[ελοσ πε]τρε ουδ απολ[ηγ]ει
 100 πρ]ιν χρ[οοσ ανδρ]ομμο[ιο διελ]θεμεν' ει[ι δε] θε[οσ] περ []αρροιασ[

col. ii

135? ημεασ τ[ο]υ[σ] α]λλ[οουσ επει η] πολυ φ[ερτεροι ει]μεν ου[.]ε]τ[ω]
 ακρβ^ε ουτ[]
 101 ἱσ[ο]ν τινειεν πολεμου τελοσ ου κε μαλα ρεα
 [νικ]ησε[ι] ουδ ε[ι π]α[γ]χ[αλκε]οσ ευχεται ειναι
 [τον δ αυτε] προσειπεν [ανα]ξ [Δι]οσ [υιοσ] Απο[λ]λω[ν]
], δ^ι εις τουσ ε⁷ ἡ[ρωσ αλ]λ' αγε και κυ θεοισ αι[ειγενε]τ[ησι]ν
]ερ[.]υ^σ αρ[.]ε []
 105 ε[υ]χεο κ[αι δε] σε φᾶσι Διοσ κ[ο]υ[ρ]ησ Αφροδιτη[σ]
 ε[κγ]εγαμε[ν κ]εῖνοσ δε χε[ρ]εινοσ ε[κ] θε[ο]υ εστιν]πιοκα[
 η [με]ν γαρ [Διοσ εσ]θ η δ εξ αλιοι[ο γερ]οντοσ
 [αλλ ιθυσ φερε χαλκ]ον α[τ]ειρε[α μ]ηδε σ[ε π]αμπ[αν]
]στα[]
 110 [λευγαλειοσ επεεσ]σιν απο[τρ]επ[ετω] και []
 [ωσ ειπων εμπ]νευσε μ[ε]νοσ
 [βη δε δια προμ]αχων κεκο[ρυθμενοσ] ενε[.]
 [ουδ ελαθ Αγ]χισαιο πάι[σ]] χαλ[]
 [αντια Πη]λειων]οσ ἰων []
].[]

[vv. 114-31 lost]

την δ ημειβετ επει]τα []
 πα]ρ ε[κ νοον ουδε τι σε χρη
 134 ουκ αν] εγω[γ] εθελουμι [θεουσ εριδι ξυνελ]ασαι
 136 αλλ] η[μ]εισ μεν επ[ει]τ[α] καθεζω[μεσθα κιο]ντες
 εκ πα]του εσ σκοπιήν πόλεμοσ δ α[νδρεσσι] μελησει
 ε]ι [δε κ] Αρης αρχω[σι] μαχησ η Φοιβ[οσ] Απολλων
 η Αχι]λῆ ἴσχωσι κα[ι] ουκ ειωσι μα[χεσθα] ησ[]
 ηη[]

140 αυτι]κ επ[ε]τα και] αμμ[ι] παρ α[υ]τοφι [νει]κο[σ ο]ρειτ[αι
 δι]ακρινθεντασ οιω
 αφ] [μ]εν [Ουλυμπον δε θεων] μεθ ο[μ]ηγυρ]ιν αλλω[ν]
 ημετερη[ι]σ υπο χερσιν αν]αγκα[ι]ηφι δαμεντα[σ]
 ωσ αρα φ[ωνησασ ηγη]σα[το]
 145 τειχοσ εσ [αμφιχ]υτον Η[ρακληοσ] θει]ο[ι]
 υψηλ[ον το ρα] ο[ι] [Τρωεσ και Πα]λλ[α]σ Αθηγη
 ποι]εον ο[φρα το κητοσ υπεκ]προφυγω[ν] αλα[ι]το
 ρποποτε μ[ιν σε]υαιτο απ η[ι]ον]οσ πεδιονδε
 ενθα Ποσ[ειδαων] κατ αρ εξε[το κ]αι θεοι αλλο[ι]
 150 αμφι δ αρ [αρ]ρηκτον νεφελ[ην] ωμοικιν ξα[ν]το
 οι δ ετερωσε κ]α[θ]ιζον επ οφρυσι Καλλικολωνησ
 αμφι σ ἴηε Φοιβε και Αρη[α πτο]λιπορθον

col. i

54 στρυ[ν]αν[τεσ]: the papyrus agrees with Ω* (printed by West): δτρόνοντες g A^s T Y R.
 57 In the right margin, traces of a vertical stroke (p?) preceded by a sign: possibly the remnant of a marginal note.
 59 Ει[δης]: l. ἴδης: other cases of iotacism occur in 62 and 101.
 61 ἐνέρων of the papyrus agrees with g tt Z Ω* against ἀνέρων of B^a D F^a R^a and ἀνδρῶν of rr.
 A trace of ink over the iota of Αἰδωνεύς: apparently the second dot of the diaeresis.
 62 εἰαχε: l. ἴαχε; see 59 n.
 85 Αχιλλη[οσ]: the form with -λλ- is against the metre (also 89).
 89 Αχιλλ[η]οσ: see 85 n.
 100 διελθεμεν: so in g 243 Ω* and as a variant in A (γράφεται διελθέμεν A^{im}), whereas A b G have διελθεῖν. For another coincidence of a marginal variant of A with the text of the papyrus see 143. The marginal note to the right seems to read]αρροιασ[or]αρδιασ[: if διελασ[αι] can be read, it may be paraphrase of διελθέμεν. This would imply an intransitive use of διελαύνειν, cf. Eust. IV p. 617 Van der Valk, ll. 13-14 on Il. 22.286 ἐν χροῖ πάν . . . ἔγχοσ κομίσασθαι ἢ ταῦτόν ἐστι τῶ διελάσαι, δ ἀνωτέρω κείται, ἢ τῶ διαμπερὲσ βαλεῖν. Conversely, διήλασεν is glossed διήλθε, διεπέρασεν in Hesyeh. δ 1740, which may be derived from glosses such as Schol. D Il. 17.579 διαπρὸ δε χαλκὸν ἔλασεν διήλασεν δε τὸ δόρυ, ὥστε διελθεῖν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν.

col. ii

Marginal note: ου[.]ε]τ[ω]
 ακρβ^ε ουτ[]

Possibly by a different hand, as the ink is darker and the pen a little thinner. Normally explanatory marginalia appear in the margin to the right of the relevant text; see K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (2007) 15-16.

In the second line, the annotator presumably intended ακριβ, but there is no reliable trace of the iota. I had originally taken the raised letter at the end as omega, giving ἀκρι(ι)βῶ(ς). This adverb is well attested in the scholia: could it refer to a stylistic feature? If it does, it might be tempting to read the next three letters as ο πο[ι] i.e. ὁ πο[ι]ητής as in P. Fay. 209, cf. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (1981) 83. But ουτ[] or οτ[] may be more likely readings. In any case, the raised letter

looks more like a cursive epsilon, and in that case one could think of a textual comment on the added line: οὐ[κ ε]ζτην (or perhaps οὐκ ἦν) [ἐν τοῖς | ἀκριβ(ε)στέρους] οὐζ[ος? Cf. Jo. Philop., *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*, CAG XVI 468 Ἐντεῦθεν μέχρι τοῦ "ἀλλ' αἰ γέ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον" οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβ(ε)στέρους τῶν ἀντιγράφων.

101 I. τείνειεν: iotacism, see vv. 59, 62.

Marginal notes (to left of 104): if δ* can be read, it might be δι(ττω) or possibly δι(ορθωτέον), see McNamee, *Abbreviations* 25. In the same line, τους ε? is not clear; could it mean ἐπ(ομένους)? Below,]ερ[.]υς αρ. [(or α[ε]]υγεν . . . ?, cf. *Schol. h Il.* 2.400, Hesych. α 1811). To right of 106-7:]πιοκα[or]τιεδ'κα[. The note might refer to 52-3 on the left (53 attracts much commentary in the medieval scholia) or to 104-5 on the right.

104-7 These verses are restored on the basis of a small detached fragment.

105 δε] cε: δε cε Ptol Hdn fere Ω*: δέ cε C R G. The grave (negative) accent in the papyrus implies the tradition found in C R G, against the doctrine of Ptolemy of Ascalon reported in the scholia to this line.

105-6 The quantity mark (105) and the circumflex (106) are in a darker ink, but the hand may be that of the main text.

Marginal notes (right of col. ii 111): ενετ[(but ενεπ[is also possible) might suggest a comparison with another Homeric papyrus containing marginal notes, P. Oxy. Hels. 6, l. 17, in which the letters εν ετ were interpreted as ἐν ἐτ(έρω), i.e. as a reference to the collation of another exemplar. Below, χαλ[might refer to 156 or to 163 in the next column.

135 The verse, omitted by most of the tradition (435 Ω*: add. 9 A ('e mg. exemplaris') D^m F G) and by West, has been added in the top margin: the traces, though certain, are too scanty to decide whether they are in the principal hand. For missing verses restored in the upper margin see McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 13 n. 24.

139 η Αχι]λή ἔχων as in 9 Ω*: -ἦα χῶσι G.

140 ἀτόφι of the papyrus agrees with 9 435 Z Ω* against ἀτόφι of T h C (accepted by West).

143 αν]αγκα[ι]ηφι: unless ηφι is an iotacism for ἴφι, the papyrus agrees again (as in v. 100) with a marginal variant in A and with some of the other MSS, while 9 435? Ω* have ἀνάγκη ἴφι (ἀναλκίησι several other MSS).

G. PERNIGOTTI

5033. HOMER, ODYSSEY XXII 134-52, 181-201

57/56(e)

13.7 × 15.5 cm

Sixth century

Leaf of a papyrus codex, written in brown ink. The hand is a rather untidy and informal example of 'Alexandrian majuscule', comparable to those of the Homer codices BKT IX 98 (pll. 46-49), P. Berol. 13262 + 21228 (*GBEBP* 35b) and BKT IX 31 (pl. 15), but more crowded and irregular: letters such as α, ο, and c have several different forms and sizes, and the vertical strokes of p and γ often extend so far downwards that they touch letters in the line below. It may be assigned to the sixth century.

If no verses were omitted in the missing section, the height of the leaf would have been c.32 cm, with a written area of c.25.5 cm, occupied by 47 lines. The margins are generous: the upper margin measures 3.5 cm, the right margin of the front (→) at least 3 cm, the left margin of the back (↓) at least 5 cm; assuming inner

margins of both sides of c.2 cm, one might estimate the width of the leaf as 19.5 or 20 cm and its height as 32 cm. Its format would place this codex in Turner's 'Group 3 Aberrants' or in 'Group 5', cf. *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 16. Elision is marked, except at 187 τω δ αρ, and 193 ανψιλην; diaeresis occurs at 140 οἴομαι. Final -ν is rendered by suprascript horizontal (135, 142, 149). There are no accents or punctuation.

The papyrus contains several phonological errors: see on 134, 139, 186, 193. Of most interest textually is the reading [δ]ε cφιν in 149, where the manuscripts read δ' αὐτῶι. Since cφιν is always plural in Homer, it would have to refer either to Odysseus and Telemachus, or to the suitors, but as the object of φαίνεται can only be Odysseus, it seems more likely that cφιν was erroneously taken to be a synonym of αὐτῶι.

Collated with the edition of A. Ludwich (1889-91), with consultation of the editions of T. W. Allen (1908) and H. van Thiel (1991). Medieval manuscripts are indicated by the sigla of Ludwich (used also by van Thiel). In addition we cite the following early witnesses from Egypt by their Allen-Sutton numbers: p20 = ΠΙ 448 (papyrus roll, III AD; M-P³ 1148); p28 = P. Ryl. I 53 (parchment codex, IV AD; M-P³ 1106); p153 = P. Ant. III 174 (papyrus codex, IV AD; M-P³ 1148.1).

→

τωι κε ταχ ουτο]c ανηρ γυν υστατα τοξασσето
 135 τον δ αυτε προσειπε] μελανθιος αιπολος αιγω
 ου πως εστ α]χελαε δ[ιοτρε]φες α[γ]χι γαρ αιως
 αυλης καλα] θυρετρα [κ]αι α[ργαλ]εον στομ[α λ]αυρης
 και χ εις πα]ντας ερυκοι ανηρ ος τ' αλκιμος ειη
 αλλ αγεθ υ]μιν τε[υχ]ε' ενικω [θ]ωρηχθηναι
 140 εκ θαλαμ]ου ενδον [γ]α[ρ] οἴομ[αι ουδε] πηι α[λ]λη
 τευχεα] κατθεσθ[η]ν οδυς[ευσ και] φαιδι[μο]ς υι[ο]ς
 ως ειπω]ν ανεβα[ι]νε [μ]ελ[ανθιος αι]πολος αιγω
 ες θαλα]μους οδυσης ανα[ρρ]ωγας μεγαροιο
 ενθεν δ]ωδεκα μεν σακ[ε'] εξελε τοσσα δε δουρα
 145 και τοσσ]ας κ[υ]νεας χαλκηρεας ιπποδασειας
 βη δ ιμεναι μαλ]α δ' ωκα φερων μνηστηρων εδωκ[ε]
 και τοτ οδυσηςος λυτο γουν]ατα και φιλον ητορ
 ως περιβαλλομενους ιδε τε]υχεα χειρι δε δουρε
 μακρα τινασσοντας μεγα δ]ε cφιν φαινετο εργῶ
 150 αυφα δε τηλεμαχον επεα πτε]ροεντα [π]ροσηδα
 τηλεμαχ η μαλα δη τις ενι μεγ]αροις γυναικων
 νων εποτρυνει πολεμον κα]κον η[ε μελανθευς

↓

τωι δ' εσταν εκατερ[θε παρα ς]ταθ[μοικι μενοντε
 ευθ' υπερ ουδο[ν εβαι]νε μ[ελανθιος αιπολος αιγων
 τη[ι] ετερηι μ[εν χειρι φερων καλην τρυφαλειαν
 τ[η]ι δ' ετερηι [σακος ευρυ γ]ερον πε[παλαγμενον αζηι
 185 λ[αε]ρτω ηρω[ος] ο κουριζων φορ[εεσκε
 δη τοτε γ' ηδη κε[ιτ]ο ραφε [δ] ελελυ[ντο μιαντων
 τω δ αρ επ[αιξανθ] ελετην ξρυσαν τ[ε μιν ειως
 κο]υρι[ξ εν δαπεδωι] δε χα[μαι] βαλον αχ[νυμενον κηρ
 συν δε πο[δας ξειρα]ς τ' [ε]δεο[ν] θυμαλγ[ει δεσμωι
 190 ευ μαλ' απο[ς]τρ[ε]ψαντες διαμπερε[ς ως εκελευσε
 192 χειρην δε πλεκ[τ]ην εξ αυτου π[ει]ρης[αντε
 κιον' αν υψηλην ξρυσαν πελ[α]σαν δε[δοκοικι
 τον δ' επικερτομεων προ[σεφης ευμαιε κυβωτα
 195 νυν [με]ν δη μ[αλα παγχυ μελανθιε νυκτα φυλαξειι
 ευνη [ενι] μαλ[ακη καταλεγμενος ως σε εοικεν
 ουδ[ε σε] γ' ηριγ[ενεια παρ ωκεανοιο ροαων
 ληρηι επερχο[μενη χρυσοθρονος ηρικ αγινειι
 αιγας μνηστη[ρεσσι δομον κατα δαιτα πενεσθαι
 200 ως ο μεν αυθι λ[ελειπτο ταθειι ολωι ενι δεσμωι
 τω δ εκ τ]ευχ[ε]α [δυντε θυρην επιθεντε φαεινην

134 I. τοξάσσαιτο.

139 I. ἐνείκω.

148 χερσί δέ p28, FUZ, χερσί τε GK.

δουρε: δοῦρα MSS.

149 δ' αὐτῶι MSS.

181 τωι: read τῶ.

186 τὸτ' ἄρ' p153; I. ῥαφαί.

189 τ' ἔδεον X, τε δέον FG ut Ω.

190 ἀποστρέψαντες as in G: I. ἀποστρέψαντε.

191 om. p20 p153 (but not p28), FGPHUZ.

193 I. ἀν' ὑψηλήν.

198 επερχο[μενη: an- p28, MU.

T. MURGATROYD

5034. SCHOLIA MINORA TO ILIAD I 416-27

Box 1 B.5/A Layer 5

7.5 × 10 cm

Second century
Plate IX

Fragment of a papyrus roll; on the front, along the fibres, remnants of nine lines of a documentary text; on the back, across the fibres, the upper part of a column of a Homeric glossary. To its left is a blank space 2 cm wide, to its right a small blank space. The upper margin is generous (5 cm). The twelve lines preserved by this fragment contain lemmata and glosses of *Iliad* i 416-27. Each lemma is separated from its gloss by a blank space of c.0.5 cm.

The script is small and upright, with the first letter of each lemma and each gloss slightly larger. It is roughly bilinear, but the phi in 8 exceeds the notional upper and lower lines, extending into the line below; rho also descends below the line. Some letters seem to lean slightly backwards. The hand resembles that of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (BGU V 1210 = Seider, *Paläographie* i 37; c.170) and in particular that of PSI IX 1094 (schol. Callim. *Iambi*; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.) = Pap. Flor. XII pl. 62; it can be assigned to the second century.

Papyri containing scholia minora to Homer have been listed by M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001) 129-36, and in the online resource *The Scholia minora in Homerum: Bibliography* by John Lundon; add P. Bingen 2, and most recently LXXI 4818-19.

The lemmata and glosses of our fragment partly overlap with those in P. Bingen 2 (referred to in the notes as T), P. Colon. inv. 2281v (A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 229-52) = h23 West, and XLV 3238 = h25 West. The lemma μίννθα is also in P. Palau Rib. Lit. 8 = h19 West. Other abbreviations used in the notes are: Ap = Apollonius Sophistes, *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker (1833); D = *Scholia D in Iliadem* (Proekdosis), ed. H. van Thiel (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/volltexte/2006/1810/>); Pa = *Παράφρασις τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος* in *Scholiorum in Homeri Iliadem appendix*, ed. I. Bekker (1827); He = *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, i-ii (1953-66) (a-o) and rec. M. Schmidt (1858-1868).

	αισα μοιρα	(416)
	μιννθα επ ολιγον	(416)
	οϊζυρος επιπονος	(417)
	επλεο εγενου	(418)
5	τω σε[	(418)
	ερε[ου]σα α[γγελουσα(?)	(419)
	τερπικεραυ[γωι	(419)
	αγαννιφον αγ[αν	(420)
	ωκυποροις τα[χειαις	(421)
10	χθιζος εχθεε[	(424)

χαλκοβατες ι [εχυρωσ βεβηκος (426)
[γουνασο]μαι [(427)

1 = h23, Ap D Pa He

2 ἐπ' ὀλίγον D; ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον Ap; ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον, ὀλιγοχρόνιον He; ὀλιγοχρόνιον T;
ὀλιγόχρονος Pa.

3 = Ap; ταλαιπωρος T; ἐπίπονος, ἄθλιος, ταλαίπωρος D.

4 = T D Pa He.

5 διὸ δῆ' ce D; διὸ ce Pa.

6 ερουσα T; εἰπούσα, ἀπαγγελοῦσα D; ερουσα, λεξουσα, . . . ἀγγελοῦσα He.

7 τερπομενω τοις κεραυνοῖς T; . . . τωι τερπομενωι τοις κεραυνοῖς· ἐστι Διος ἐπιθετον h25;
τερπομένω κεραινοῖς, ἢ καταγωνιζομένω τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ τρέποντι κεραινοῖς D; ὁ τερπόμενος,
ἢ τρέπων πάλιν κεραινοῖς He. We should not expect a perfectly even right margin, but the longest
preserved lines 2–3 contain 15 letters each plus the two-letter space between lemma and gloss, and
similarly the restorations in 6 and 9. Unless 7 was eccentric, the gloss cannot have been very long.

8 ἄγαν χι(ο)μιζόμενον T; ἀγα(ν) νιφετώδη χειμερινον h25; ἄγαν χιονώδης Ap; τὸν λίαν νιφόμε-
νον τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς νέφεσι μέρη D; χιονώδη Pa; λίαν χιονιζόμενον He.

9 ταχέαις h25; ταχυπλοοῖς T Pa; ταχέως πλεούσαις D; ταχέα ρεύματα ἔχουσι καὶ πλέουσιν He.

10 χθές Pa; διὰ τῆς χθές D; χθές χθιζόν, ἐχθές He.

11 εχυρωσ βεβηκος h25; το εχυρωσ βεβηκος He; εχυρωσ βεβηκος, στερεον D; χαλκοβαρες T;
. . . μεταφορικῶς τὸ εχυρὸν καὶ βεβηκός Ap. If space was limited (see 7 note), the gloss may have
been simply ι [εχυρον or ε [τερεον.

12 [γουνασο]μαι: only the tops of the last three letters remain; παρακαλεσομαι T; γουπετήσω
h25; γουπετήσω, λιτανεύσω D; ικετεύσω Pa.

G. DEL MASTRO

5035–5045. PINDAR, EPINICIAN ODES

It will be convenient to set out here certain matters of general relevance to the publi-
cation below of these eleven manuscripts.

Colometry. The papyri, like the medieval manuscripts, follow (with occasional slips,
noted in the commentary) the ancient colometry established, it is believed, by Aristophanes
of Byzantium. This colometry will be found almost exactly reproduced in Heyne's edition;¹
it can be verified most readily from the ancient metrical scholia.

Line-numbers. Two systems of line-numbering are used: Heyne's, as affording the only
means of unambiguous reference to the lines of a manuscript text; and Snell's (taken over
by him from Schroeder's *editio minor*), as being in commonest use among scholars nowa-
days.² Heyne's numbers are those in square brackets, as 'iv [455]', Snell's without brackets,

¹ C. G. Heyne, *Pindari Carmina* (Göttingen 1773). The inexactitudes (which go back beyond
Heyne) are very few, are consistent throughout an ode, and seldom concern more than a single syl-
lable. For a more important divergence see p. 77 n. 1.

² It is basically Boeckh's, but with modifications (deriving mostly from Bergk) in about a third
of the odes. Puech agrees with it, and Bowra except in three short odes (*O.* iv and v, *P.* vii) and in *I.* iv
and viii.

as 'iv 256'; 'iv [455] 256' means 'iv 455 Heyne = 256 Snell'. In the margin of the fragments
Heyne's numbers are placed by the line to which they refer; Snell's by the line of the frag-
ment in which Snell's line begins (except that by the first line of a fragment the number is
that of the first of Snell's lines to be represented, even though it began in an earlier line).
To the notes on the fragments both numbers are normally prefixed; but only Heyne's if the
note is concerned only with colometry or the like.

Supplements. Lacunae have normally been supplemented in accordance not with
a printed text but with the consensus of the medieval manuscripts (even when corrupt).

Manuscript readings. The readings of medieval manuscripts are cited from Turyn's
apparatus ('codd.' are the medieval manuscripts used by Turyn for the line in question);
quisquilliae that Turyn ignores (such as paragogic ν) are cited from Mommsen's edition.

H. MAEHLER

5035. PINDAR, OLYMPIAN ODES I 64–9

22 3B.16/B(1)a

2.2 × 11 cm

Later second century

A narrow strip, broken on all sides. The hand is a small, upright specimen of
the 'Severe Style', similar to those of **5036** and **XV 1808** (XV pl. 4; W. A. Johnson,
Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus pl. 10), which may all be assigned to the later part
of the second century. Accents and punctuation (high stop after [104] = 64) appar-
ently by the scribe's hand. The back is blank.

[102] 64

] [

] [[] [

αμαρτα]νει [

[105] 65

τουνεκα οι προηκαν υιον] [

αθανατοι παλιν] [

μετα το ταχυποτμον] [

αυτις ανερων εθνος] [

προς ευανθεμον δ οτε φυα]ν [

[110]

λαχναι νιν μελαν γενειο]ν ερεφον[

[111] 69

ετοιμον ανεφροντισεν] γάμον [

space for 13–14] [

more lines] [

[102] 64 Plenty of room even for the corrupt and excessive reading of codd., θέσαν ἀτόν· εἰ
δὲ θεόν.

[103–4] 64 The lines should be | ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεται <τι> λαθήμεν ἔρδων ἀμαρτάνει | (τι om.

codd., suppl. Byz.); this copy will have divided earlier, whether | λαθέμεν (which on a letter-count leaves [104] 2-3 letters short, but its letters are potentially wide ones) or a syllable earlier.

[105-6] 65 There would be room for *οι* either in [105] after *τοῦνεκα* (codd., unmetrically) or in [106] after *ἀθάνατοι* (Triklinios).

[112 ff.] Below [111] the edge continues more or less vertically for 63 mm (13-14 lines), with room to its left for c.20 letters (perhaps slightly more towards the bottom); of the next 14 lines none exceeds 19 letters except [115] *πολιὰς ἀλόε οἶος ἐν δρφνα(ι)* (21-2, but many of them narrow) and [122] *τέλλεται πέδαον ἔγχοσ* (20). The text of the column may therefore (but of course need not) have continued down to the bottom of the fragment (at [124] or [125]) or beyond.

H. MAEHLER

5036. PINDAR, *OLYMPIAN ODES* II 76-82

26 3B.47/K(3-5)

6.4 × 8 cm

Later second century

A fragment from the top of a column, broken on three sides; the top margin measures 2.8 cm. Small, slightly sloping hand of the "severe style", characterized by the contrast between narrow *ε* *ο* *ς* and broad *η* *μ* *ν*; *ο* is small, *ρ* has a long descender. It is comparable to the hands of **5035** and **XV 1808** (XV pl. 4; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* pl. 10), which have been assigned to the later second century. Punctuation is by middle stop after [139] = 76, by high stop after [144] = 80; no accents. The back is blank.

Parts of these lines are preserved also in **XVII 2092** = II².

head of column

[139]	76	μον αυτωι] παρεδρον·	[
[140]		ποσις ο παντ]ων Ρεας	[] [
		υπατον εχοιςα]σ παις θρον[ο]ν·	[
		Πηλευς τε και Κα]δμος εν τοιςω αλεχ[ονται	
		Αχιλλεα τ ενεικ ε]πει	[
	80	Ζηνος ητορ λιτ]αις επεισε ματηρ·	[
[145]		ος Εκτορα σφαλε Τροι]ας	[
[146]	82	αμαχον αστραβη] . . [] []	[

[141] 77 Presumably *ὑπατον ἐχοίσας παῖς θρόνον* with codd. (*ὑπέρτατον ἐχοίσας θρόνον* Byz., rightly); no space for *ὑπέρτατον*. This unmetrical nonsense was only to be expected: it was the reading interpreted by Didymos (schol. 140a; no mention of any variant). [140-41] are omitted in **2092**.

Above the place where the *α* of *ἐχοίσας* would be, at the bottom of a narrow strip projecting downwards, a horizontal line across the whole width of the strip. High for a makron (which in any case would be unexpected); more probably part of a superscript letter (room for others before it; after it at most one, and that unlikely).

[143] 79 *Ἀχιλέα* (ABH, **2092**) or *Ἀχιλλέα* (rell., rightly)?

[146] 82 *κιο]ρα* possible.

H. MAEHLER

5037. PINDAR, *OLYMPIAN ODES* VI 62-70, X 24-7

37 4B.105/G(2)a

fr. 1 4.2 × 7.6 cm

Early third century

Two fragments of a roll; the text is written across the fibres (↓). The hand is small, leaning slightly to the right, coarse and untidy; *β*, *ρ*, *τ*, *γ*, and *φ* descend below the baseline, other letters vary in size; the cross-bar of *ε* is low, often touching the end of the lower arc; *ο* is small, *ω* small and flat, with its middle element hardly rising from the baseline; *η* *μ* *ν* *π* are broad. The hand is similar to that of **XXI 2291**; it may be assigned to the early third century. On the → side of fr. 2 are remains of two lines of a documentary text; the → of fr. 1 is blank.

Olympian vi fr. 1

[107]	62	λασεν τε νιν ορσο τεκνον] δευ[ρο παγ κοιον εν χωρ]αν [[ε]]ιμεν φαμα[ς οπισθεν ικοντο δ υψηλ]οιο πε
[110]		τραν αλιβατο]ν Κρονιου[] [
	65	ενθα οι ωπασε] [[ν]] θησαυρον διδυ[μον μαντοσυνα]ς [τ]οκα μεν φωνα[ν ακουειν ψευδεων αγνω]τον εν τ αν δε θρασ]υμαχαρος ελθων[
[115]		Ηρακλης σεμ]νον θ[αλ]ος Αλκ[αιδαν
	69	πατρι θ εορταν τ]ε κ[τιση πλ]εις[τομβροτον
[117]		τεθμον τε μεγαστον αεθλω]ν [

foot of column

[107] 62 There are so many variants in the tradition that one can only guess at the content of the lacuna: *μεταλ(λ)ασ(ε)ε(ν)*, *νιν ορ μιν*, *τέκνον* (codd.) or *τέκος* (implied in schol. 106g). All one can say is that the division, which ought to have been *μεταλλα]σεν*, was certainly made too early; space suggests the supplement given above.

[108] 63 *χώραν* with A, rightly (*χώρον* rell.).

*ε*ιμεν with a dot below the *ε* and the papyrus broken off where there might have been another dot above; the *ε* presumably deleted, to give *ιμεν* with codd.

[111] 65 The letter before *θ* has been scrawled over in deletion; some ink lost, but *ν* seems likely.

[116] 69 Above the traces of *κ*, ink not forming part of the letter; perhaps ink from the letter that has blurred and run (as in letters above).

Olympian x fr. 2

[30] 24]ω [c]αματι [παρ Πελοπος
25]βωμω εξα[ριθμον
]εκτίσσει[ο επει Ποσειδανιον
[33] 27]πεφυ[ε Κτεατον αμυμονα

[30] 24 *κάματι* with BEFGC, rightly; of the first λ, part of the main stroke on its way to join the μ, incompatible with ω (*κάματι* AHNO) or η (*κήματι* A^SF^{PC}H^SN^{PC}).

[31] 25 *βωμῶ(ι)* with BFGH (*βωμῶν* AE, *βωμῶν* E^SF^{PC}CNO). The scholia give interpretations not only of the genuine *βωμῶν* but also of this absurd and unmetrical *βωμῶι*; it is no surprise to find it in an ancient text.

All MSS but A have the gloss *Ἡρακλέης* interpolated into the sentence: BEFGH after *ἐξάριθμον*, CNO after *ἐκτίσσει* (in neither case is the lineation reported; though since the Aldine, with the same word order as BEFGH, has it at the end of [31], it seems likely that it was in the same position in BEFGH). If our text had it, it was probably at the end of [31].

[32] 25 *ἐκτίσσει* with BEFGH, rightly (*-ίσατο* A, *-ίσαθ'* or *-ήσαθ'* CNO).

H. MAEHLER

5038. PINDAR, OLYMPIAN ODES X 1-11, 24-35

6 B.23/B(3-4)

10.7 × 13.6 cm

Fourth century

The lower half of a single leaf of a papyrus codex with wide margins, containing parts of *Olympian* x: on the recto (→) [1-15] 1-11, on the verso (↓) [30-43] 24-35, written in brown ink in a fairly large, generally upright hand, which may be assigned to the fourth century. On →, letters often lean backwards, whereas in the last two lines of ↓ they lean to the right, which may be due to the scribe changing the position of his hand. ε θ ο c are narrow, the verticals of ρ γ φ ψ descend below the baseline; γ either has its left arm, sometimes curved, joined to the vertical, or both arms meeting at an acute angle and forming a narrow cup. No accents or punctuation; mute iota is not written. The width and spacing of the letters show some variation between recto (10 letters = c.45 mm) and verso (10 = c.39 mm); the spacing of the lines is the same on both sides (10 lines = c.69 mm).

The verso, with [16-43], had 28 lines. Its last line is 1231 of the book (this figure includes the intrusive colon *φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι*, found in the tradition (codd. and XIII 1614) after *O. ii* [48]); 22 leaves of 56 lines (28 a side) would contain 1232 lines. This agreement may of course be fortuitous. But it may be that the writer was consistent in putting 28 lines on a page: either very nearly consistent or, if he began with a line for the title of the book, exactly so. This would mean that the odes suc-

ceeded one another without interval, with their titles written in the margin; since no margin is preserved at the beginning of *O. x*, the possibility cannot be verified.

The height of the writing on a page of 28 lines will have been 19 cm. The lower margin as preserved is 3.5 cm (recto) and 4 cm (verso); the inner margin as preserved is 4 cm (recto, left) and 3 cm (verso, right, after a line of 29 letters = c.11 cm); if upper and outer margins were of similar size, the page would have measured at least 26 × 18 cm, which would place it in Turner's 'Group 5' (*Typology* 16-17).

The papyrus is much worn (in places threadbare), and the ink is in places badly faded; many of the letters marked as doubtful are represented by exiguous and fugitive traces whose identification, even in a known text, is speculative.

Parts of [1-12] are preserved also in P. Tebt. II 684 = Π⁴³; parts of [30-33] in 5037.

recto

→ c.13 lines lost from head of page
[1] 1]το[ν Ο]λυ[μπιονικαν αναγνωτε μοι
]Αρχεστρατο[ν παιδα ποθι φρενος
]εμας γεγ[ραπται γλυκυ γαρ αυτω
]μελος οφε[ιλων επιελαθ ω
[5]]Μοις' αλλα ε[ν] κα[ι θ]υ[γατηρ
]Αλαθε[ι]α Διος []
5]ορθα χ[ε]ρι ερ[ν]κεταν ψ[ευδεων
ενιπαν αλιτοξενον[]
εκαθεν γαρ επελθω[ν ο μελλων χρονος
[10] εμον κατα[ι]χνυ[ει βαθυ χρεος
ομως δε λυκαι δυ[νατος οξει
αν επιμομφαν [τοκος θνατων
]νυ ψαφον ελις[σομεναν
10 οπα κυμα κατα[]
[15] κλυσει ρεον οπα [τε κοινον λογον
foot of page

verso

↓ 14 lines lost from head of page
[30] 24] . []
25 βωμων εξαριθμον] . []
] . . []
πεφνε Κτεα]τον [αμυ]μονα []
πεφνε δ Ευ]ρυτον Α[ν]χεαν [λα]τριον []
[35] αεκουθ εκ]ων μισθον υπερβιον []

	30	πρασσοιτο λο]χμαιαι δε δοκ[ε]υσαι	[] [
		υπο Κλεων]αν δαμασσε κα	[] [
		κεινους Ηρακλε]ης εφ οδω	[
		οτι προσθε ποτε] Τιρυνθιον	[
[40]		επερσαν αυτω ε]τρατον	[
		μυχοις ημενον] Αλιδος	[
		Μολιονες υπερ]φιαλοι και μαν	[
[43]	35	ξεναπατας βασ]ιλευς Επειων οπιθεν	[
		foot of page	

[7] 4 Apparently *χειρι* (BEF, unmetrically) rather than *χερι* (rell.).

[7] 5 *ερυκεταν* for *ερύκετον*; perhaps intended as *ερυκε τάν*.

[8] ον[, not ων[, i.e. *ἀλιτοξένων* with codd. and P. Tebt. 684 (*ἀλιτοξένων* Mingarelli). There is no telling whether or not there was a paragraphus under the line (the last of a strophe).

[9] 7 *εκαθεν* rightly (-θε ABE).

[14-15] 10 *κατακλύσει* with codd. and P. Tebt. 684, unmetrically (-cc- Byz.).

[31] 25 In the lacuna on the left there is room for the whole of the line, whether with *βωμών* or with *βωμῶ* (for the variants, see on 5037 fr. 2 [31]). The intrusive *Ηρακλέης* (see on 5037 fr. 2 [31]) was presumably not written after *εξάριθμον*: some part of it should be visible.

[32] 26 Unidentifiable traces (above the *ον* of *αμμυμονα*), in about the position for the *δ* of | *ἐκτίσσοτο ἐπεὶ Ποσειδάνιον* |; after them the papyrus is badly damaged, and no further traces survive.

[34] 29 *ὡς* omitted before *Αὐγέαν*. *Αὐγέαν* rightly (*Αὐγέα* EGH, -αν rell., G^{pc}).

[36] 31 *δοκεύσαι* (as AB) apparently corrected from *δοκεύσας* (rell., B^s).

[37] 31 *δάμασσε* unmetrically for *δάμασε*.

[37-8] 31 *κάκείνους* with codd., wrongly (*καὶ κείνους* Boeckh; codd. invariably have *κάκειν-* for Pindar's *καὶ κειν-*). Also wrong division, for *κάκεί|νους*.

[39-40] The division should have been before, not after, *Τιρύνθιον*.

[43] 36 *βασιλεὺς Επειῶν* with BEFGH, wrongly (*Επειῶν βασιλεὺς* ACNO).

ὄπιθεν as Byz., N^{pc}, rightly (*ὀπισθεν* codd.).

H. MAEHLER

5039. PINDAR, *PYTHIAN ODES* I 6-9, 32-5, III 101-3,

IV 39-43, 58-66, 72-80, 134-7, 256-7, VI 9-16

No inventory number

fr. 5 7.1 × 8.1 cm

Third century

The fragments published as XXVI 2442 (Π²⁶) come from a number of rolls, all in the same hand, containing different works of Pindar; the present fragments, mentioned by Lobel in the introduction to 2442, are from a roll in the same hand containing the Pythians. The hand is a sloping angular one, assigned by Lobel to the third century; the same hand (scribe A30 in W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 26-7) also wrote XV 1787 (Sappho, Book iv). It shows some

variation between different fragments, here as in 2442, and even within the same fragment the width and spacing of the letters can vary considerably and quite erratically (so that the content of any but the shortest lacunae can be estimated only between fairly wide limits). In the largest fragment (iv [103-16] 58-66), ten letters average c.34 mm, ten lines c.60 mm; the six lines from P. i are spaced more widely (ten lines = c.70 mm). The backs are blank.

The iota is written consistently in long-vowel diphthongs. Of the lection signs, some are likely to be by the original hand, others not. Of the marginalia, those at vi [14] are in the same small cursive as the bulk of the marginalia of 2442, those at i [63] are in a heavier cursive (same hand as the text?); the traces at iv [72-3] and vi [9] seem intermediate in size between the two.

An accepted conjecture is confirmed at vi [13] 14; otherwise there are no readings of any particular interest.

Pythian i fr. 1

		θεν χαλαξ]αις	
[12]	6	αρχος οιωνων] κελα[ινω	
		πιν δ επι οι νε]φελαν [
[15]		αγκυλωι κρατι γ]λεφαρω[ν	
		αδν κλαιτρον] καταχ]ευας ο δε κνωσων	
[17]	9	υγρον νωτον] αιωρει τ]εαις	

fr. 2

[60]	32	γειτονα Πυθιαδος] [
		δ εν δρομωι καρυξ ανεειπέ] μιν α[γ	
		γελλων Ιερωνος υπερ] [] [
[63]		καλλινικου].....[

[12] 6 *χαλάξαις* with C (-ac rell., C^{pc}).

[16] 8 Presumably *κατάχ]ευας*, for *κατέχευας* codd.

[61] 32 An acute on the letter immediately before]μ. The fragment fits no other instance of *μν/νν* in the Pythians; codd. here have *νν*, but the variation is common (see on 5037 [107]).

[63] *margin* Broken traces of c.6 letters (cursive; perhaps same hand as text, but smaller):] . ται . ?

Pythian iii fr. 3

[179] 101 τικτεν εν Φθι]αι Θε[τις εν πολεμωι
 [180] τοξοις απο ψυ]χαν λιπ[ων
 ωρσεν πυρι κ]αιομ[ενος
 [182] 103 εκ Δαναων] γ. [ον ει

[181] 102 Space points to ὄρσεν πυρὶ (B, rightly), not ὄρσεν ἐν πυρὶ (rell.).

[182] 103]γ. [: γ almost certain, with long cross-bar; then a trace on the baseline, γο[ον not verifiable.

Pythian iv fr. 4

[69] 39 ε]γαλι[αν βαμεν συν αλμαι
 [70] 40]εσπέρα[ς υγρωι πελαγει σπομεναν
] ἦ μᾶν [γιν οτρυνον θαμα
]. λυσιπ[ονοις θεραπον
]. [τ]εσσιν φ[υλαξαι των δ ελαθοντο φρενες
 42 κ]αι νῦν [εν ταιδ αφθιτον να
 [75] 44 κωι] κε[χυται Λιβυας ευρυχορου

fr. 5

[103] 58 πυκιναν μ]ητιν κλ[υοντες
 ω μα]καρ υιε Πολυ [
 [105] μ]ναστου·σε δ' εν τουτ[ωι λογωι
 60]χρησμος ωρθωσεν [μελισσας
 δ]ελφί[[ν]]δ'ος αυτομα[ττωι κελαδωι
 α ε]χαιρειν ες τρις α[υ
 δ]άσαια πεπρωμενο[ν
 [110] βασ]ιλέ' άμ[φα]γεν Κυρα[γναι
 δυσθροσ]υ φ[ω]νας αγα[κρिनομενον
 ποιη]α' τίς εσ[[σε]]ται π[ρος θεων
 η μᾶ]λα δη μετα [και
 νῦν]ωστε φοινικ[ανθεμου ηρος ακμαι
 [115] 65 π]αισσι τουτοις ογδ[οον θαλ
 [116] 66 λει μερος Αρκ]εξιλα[α
 10 lines lost

fr. 6

[127] 72 εξ αγαυ]ων [Αιολιδαν θανεμεν
 χειρεσσ]ιν η [βουλαις ακναμπτοις
 ηλθ]ε δ[ε] οι κρ[υοεν
 [130] πυκ]ινωι μ[αντευμα θυμωι
 74 παρ] μεσον [ομφαλον ευ
 [132] δει]δροιο [ρηθεν ματερος
 3 lines lost to foot of column

fr. 7

head of column

[136] 76 σταθ]μων ε[ς ευδειελον
 χθον]α μολ[ηι κλειτας Ιωλκου
 ξειν]ος αιτ' ὄ[ν] αστος ο δ ηρα χρονωι
 79 ικετ]αι' αιχ[μαισιν διδυμαισιν ανηρ
 [140] εκπαγ]λος [εσθας δ αμφοτερα μιν εχεν

fr. 8

[239] 134 θον Ηελ]ιᾱ[[ι]] μεγ[αρον εσσυμενοι
 [240] δ ειω κ]ατεστα[ν των δ ακου
 και αυτο]ς υπ. [ντιασε
 [242] Τυρους ερ]ασιπ[λοκαμου γενεα

fr. 9

[455] 256 αμαρ η νυκ]τες τ[οθι γαρ γενος Ευ
 [456] φαμου φυτευθ]εγ [λοιπον αιει

[72-3] margin vestiges of the ends of two lines of small cursive writing.

[106] 60 ὄρθωσεν [or perhaps ὄρθωσε μ[ι] (codd. mostly omit the ν).

[107] 60 δελφινος corrected to δελφίδος (Δελφίδος codd.).

[108] 61 ἐς τρις as Boeckh (εἰς τρις codd.).

[108-9] 61 ἀυδάσαια as Boeckh (-σαια, -σασα, -σασα codd.).

[110] 62 ἄμφανεν rightly (codd. are divided between -εν and -ε).

[111] 63 Of]ν φ[, only vestiges of the tails above τι in [112].

[112] 63 Ink above]ᾱ is not the tail of ρ in [111], which would be much farther left; presumably a grave, with ποιᾶτίς making doubly sure that the letters are not taken as ποιᾶ τίς.

The acute on the ι is displaced to the left (over the right-hand arm of τ) to avoid the tail of φ in [111] (of which a speck directly over the ι).

ἔσεται corrected to ἔσται (ἔσται codd.).

[114] 64 *νῦν* wrongly marked as short: the syllable is long in all twelve corresponding places. (και *νῦν* in Pindar has in fact, where the quantity is not hidden, eight times *νῦν* and only twice *νῦν*, here and *I. v 48*; though his other instances of purely temporal *νῦν* are 6 *νῦν*, 1 *νῦν*).

ᾠστε as B (om. rell.; ᾠτε Bergk).

[115] 65 *παισσι* for *παισι*.

τούτοις as codd. (often suspected).

[138] 78 *ᾠν* correctly accented (*ᾠν* and *ᾠν* codd.).

[239] 134 *Πελίαι* corrected to *Πελία* (*Πελία* codd.).

[241] 135 .], a trace from the left foot, indeterminate between λ (*ὑπαντ*- GHCV, rightly) and η (*ὑπηγτ*- BΦE).

Pythian vi fr. 10

[9] 9 *Ἀπολλωνιαί τετειχίστα*] *ναπαί* [
 [10] 10 *τον ουτε χειμεριος ομβρο*] *ς ἑπακτος ελθων* [
εριβρομου νεφελας στρα] *τος αμειλιχος* [
ουτ ανεμος εκ μυχους αλο] *ς* [] [] [
αξοις παμφορωι χεραδ] *ι τυπτ[ο]μενον φ[α*
ει δε προσωπον εν καθαρωι] *κυρι* "χεραστ"
] *φερομῆνποτ* ". [
 [15] 15 *πατρι τειω Θρακυβουλε κοιαν τε*] *γενεᾷ* [
λογοις θνατων]

[9–10] 9–10 *margin* The foot of a hooked stroke descending well below the foot of any letters to its right; pen broader, and script apparently larger, than in the marginalia opposite [14].

[10] 10 *ἑπακτος*: wrong accent (*ἑπακτός* codd.).

[13] 13 *χεράδι* with codd. rather than *χεράδει* (Beck): only the tip of ι, but apparently not in ligature with the cross-stroke of an ε; and the marginal annotation (see below) comments on a case of *χεράς* not *χέραδος*.

[13] 14 *τυπτόμενον* as Dawes, rightly (-νοι codd. and schol. [presumably 10b, explicitly 13c], except -νος V, Byz.). Of the final η, the foot (hooked to the left) of the first upright; the tail of φ follows at a distance agreeing with ηφ and wholly excluding ιτ. (The η will have been somewhat anomalous, with its first upright backward-sloping above the hook; but the letter varies a good deal in this hand, and in any case no other letter can come into question.)

[14] *margin* In small cursive writing, comment on *χεράδι* in [13] 13: *κυρίως* (c) *χεράς* η τ[] | *φερόμ(εν)α ὑπὸ τῶ(ν)* .]; the last trace a foot of an upright compatible with π. Presumably two definitions: the first would begin ἡ τ[or possibly ἡ τ[ά or τ[δ; the second might be ἡ τὰ κατα] *φερόμ(εν)α ὑπὸ τῶ(ν) π[οταμῶν*. It is tempting to adduce schol. 13a *κυρίως ἡ ἐκ τῆς χεράδρας ἀκαθαρσία* and to make the first definition ἡ τ[ῶν χεραδρῶν ἀκαθαρσία; we have no means of telling whether there would be room for this in the space before the next column (we can go only by the space between columns in fragments of 2442: if the space was no greater here than in fr. 1 and 14, there was no room for [ωνχεραδρωνακαθαρσιαητακατα], however abbreviated).

H. MAEHLER

5040. PINDAR, *PYTHIAN ODES* II 46–57

29 4B.45/A

5.5 × 17 cm

Second/third century

A single fragment of *Pythian* ii. Medium-sized, upright hand, similar to those of XXVIII 2486 (XXVIII pl. 5), dated by Lobel to the latter part of the second century, and XVII 2098 (XVII pl. 3; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* pl. 11; C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 19b), dated by Roberts to the first half of the third century. Punctuation (middle stop at [87] and [88], high stop at [92]) and lection signs are by the scribe's hand. Ten letters = c.46 mm, ten lines = c.66 mm. The writing is very regular, and the content of the lacunae on the left can be gauged with complete accuracy. On the back is a documentary text.

head of column

[85] 46 *λιου σφυροις*] *εγ δ* [*εγενοντο στρατος*
θα]νμαστ[ος α]μφ[οτεροις
ομ]οιοι τοκευσι τ[α ματροθεν μεν
κα]τω τα δ' ὑπερ[θε πατρος
θεο]ς απ[α]ν επι ελπ[ιδες
 [90] *σι] τεκμαρ ανυετ[αι*
 50 *θεο]ς ο και πτεροεν[τ αι*
ετο]ν κιχε' και θαλα[σσαι
*ον] παραμειβεται [
δελ]φίνα και ὑψιφ[ρωνων τιν εκαμψε
 [95] *βρο]των ετεροισι δ[ε*
κυδ]ος ακηρατον π[αρεδωκ εμε δε χρεων
φευγ]ειν δακος αδ[ιων καταγοριαν
ειδο]ν γαρ εκας εων [τα πολ
*λ εν] αμαχανιαi [
 [100] 55 *ψογερο]ν Αρχιλοχον β[αρυ*
λογοισιν] εχθεσι πιανο[μενον το πλου
τειν δε συν] τυχαι πο[τμου
*σοφιας αριστο]ν [
 57] . [
 [105]] . [***

[85] 46 *εγ* with assimilation to the following δ (*ἐκ* codd.).

[90] 49 *τέκμαρ* with ΦEGH V², rightly (*τέκμαρ* CV).

[96] 52 *ακηρατον* wrongly for *ἀγήραον* (codd.). The converse error at E. *Hipp.* 1114, where one branch of the tradition has *ἀγήραον* for *ἀκήρατον*.

[99] 54 ἀμαχανίαι with ΦGH, rightly (ἀμηχ- ECV).

[100-101] 55 Presumably βαρυλόγουσιν with codd., unmetrically (-οις Byz.): λογοισιν fits the space exactly, and βαρυ|λογ- is the right division. The alternative of βα|ρυλογοις (right reading but wrong division) is evidently, in view of the reading of codd., much less probable.

ἔχθει with codd. (-ειν Byz.).

[103] 56 Of]ν the tip of the right-hand upright; after it the surface is stripped just below the tops of ordinary letters.

[104-5] 57 Stripped; unidentifiable traces on the underlayer.

H. MAEHLER

5041. PINDAR, *PYTHIAN ODES* II 88-91, III 73-86

9 1B.182/F(i)

fr. 1 3.7 × 3.3 cm

Late second/early third century

Three fragments of a roll, broken on all sides; fr. 2 and 3 apparently from the same column. The spacing of lines is marginally wider in fr. 1 (6 lines = 3 cm) than in fr. 2 and 3 (6 lines = 2.8 cm). They are written in a small to medium-sized, upright, stylized hand: ε and c are narrow, ο is very small, ρ and γ descend below the baseline (ι and τ less so), γ, Δ, μ, ν, and ω are broader than high (ω level with the tops of letters). The letters are more formal than those of XXXI 2539 (Dictys) but otherwise quite similar; they also resemble those of X 1234 (Alcaeus), which are, however, more widely spaced. The hand may be assigned to the late second or early third century. Punctuation is by high stop; diacresis, but no accents. The backs are blank.

Pythian ii fr. 1

- [162] 88 θεον ουκ εριζει[ν
 ος α]νεχηι τοτε με[ν τα κεινων
 τοτ]ε δ αυθ ατεροις εδ[ω
 [165] κεν] μεγα κυδος' αλλ [ου
 90 δε τ]αυτα νοον ιαινει φ[θονερων σταθμας
 δε τι]ν[ο]ς [ε]λλκ[ο]μμενοι [
 91 περι]ςα[ε] ενεπ]αξαν [ελ
 [169] κοσ οδυναρον εαι] προ[εθε καρδιαι

[163] 89 ἀνέχηι with GH, wrongly (ἀνέχει rell.).

[164] 89 τοτὲ δ' ἀθθ' with codd., unmetrically (τότ' ἀθθ' Trikinios).

ἀτέροις: ἑτέροις codd. In none of the 18 instances of the word in the *epinikia* is Doric ἀτέροις recorded from any manuscript.

[164-5] 89 εδ[ω]κεν, rightly, not εδ[ω]κε (too short); codd. are divided.

[166] 90 The trema is written with one dot over the ι and one over the α; similarly *P* iii [142].

5041. PINDAR, *PYTHIAN ODES* II 88-91, III 73-86

[167] 90 τινος corrected to τινας, perhaps by a different hand (τινος codd., except that Mommsen records "τινας C", i.e. C *infra* (with C *supra* presumably τινος). Of conjectures, Headlam's *κίνος* (*CR* 16 (1902) 437 n.9) is better than τινες (J. T. Sheppard, *CR* 29 (1915) 231).

[167-8] 90-91 ἐλκόμενοι . . . ἐνέπαξαν with EFGH C^{pc}, rightly (-νος . . . -ξεν BCV, -νοι . . . -ξεν Φ V^s).

Pythian iii fr. 2

- [130] 73 κ]ωμον [τ αεθλων Πυθιων
 αι]γλαν ς[τεφανοις
 το]υς αριςτ[ευων Φερενι
 κο]ς ελεν [Κιρρα ποτε
 75 ας]τερος ου[ρανιου
 [135] φαμι τ]η[λαυγεστερον κεινωι φαος
 4 lines lost

fr. 3

- [140] 79 σεμναν] θε[ον εννουχιαι
 80 ει δε] λογων συ[νεμεν
 κορυφ]αν Ιερων [ορθαν] επιςται μ[ανθανων
 οισθα] προτερων [
 [145] εν πα]ρ εσλον πη[ματα συν
 δυο δ]αιονται βρο[τοις
 αθαν]ατοι' τα μ[εν ων
 ου δυν]ανται νη[πιοι κοσμωι φερειν
 αλλ] αγαθοι τα κα[λα τρεψαντες εξω
 [150] τιν] [α]ε μοιρ ευδ[αιμονιας επεται
 85 λαγ]εταν γα[ρ τοι τυραννον δερκεται
 [152] 86 ει τι]ν ανθρω[πων ο μεγας

[133] 74 ελεν, rightly (codd. are divided between ελεν and ελε).

[150] 84 As well as α corrected to δ, perhaps also c converted into ε (the cross-stroke slightly anomalous?), i.e. τινας corrected to τινδε; if so, the spacing of εμ suggests that the corrections were made immediately, before the μ was written.

H. MAEHLER

5042. PINDAR, *Pythian Odes* x 69–72, XI TITLE

5 IB.53/E(i)

6.4 × 5.6 cm

Third century

Fragment of a roll with the last few lines of *Pythian* x and part of the title (in the margin, in smaller script) of *Pythian* xi, and with a vestige (apparently) of the preceding column. The space to the left of lines [108–10] is 3.2 cm wide; to the left of line [110] = 71 the upper part of a coronis is visible. The hand is small and regular, leaning slightly to the right, roughly bilinear except for ρ, φ, ψ; ε and c are well rounded, o is small; serifs can be seen at the extremities of most uprights and of λ and γ. The hand is rather similar to that of P. Ross. Georg. III 2 (= J. Chapa, *Letters of Condolence in Greek Papyri* [*Pap. Flor.* xxix, 1998] no. 7; Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* no. 23c); it may be assigned to the early third century. The back is blank.

col. i	col. ii	
	
] . [
] [[
] [	[ αδελ]φ[. . .]. [	[107] 69
] [	κομεν εκλ[ο]ψ[ε οτι	
] [	υψου φερωντ[ι νομον Θεσσαλων	70
] [	ξ αυξοντες ε[ν δ αγαθοισι κεινται	[110]
] [	[ πατρ]ωιαι κεδ[ναι πολι	
] [	[ ων κυβ]ερνα[σιες	
] [	] θρ[α]κυδ[αιωι	xi [1] 1
] [] [] [
] [[
] [[
[60?]] . . [] [

x [60] 39 (?) At the bottom of col. i, traces as from the end of a line projecting either beyond the preceding ten lines or, if [107] was the first line of col. ii, beyond the preceding nine lines. Lines that come into question are these (| and || mark the parts which on a letter-count would project beyond the preceding nine and ten lines respectively): [60] λυρᾶν . . . δορ||έονται, [70] μόλεν . . . ἀγείτ|ο δ' Ἀθῆνα||, [88] τὸν . . . δὲν |ᾶο||δαίαι. The only possibility seems to be [60] δονέο]ντ[αι: of ν, horizontally contiguous dots from the right-hand junction, and above them a speck from the top of the upright; of τ, part of the left arm of the crossbar, then the angle of the upright and right arm. After τ the α would be lost; the tip of ι might just come on surviving papyrus, but the surface is damaged. This identification involves a column of 56 lines, which is unexpectedly tall (height of writing c.30 cm); but unless the traces belong not to text but to marginal comment, no other solution appears to be possible.

x [105] margin A single dot on damaged surface; perhaps casual.

5042. PINDAR, *Pythian Odes* x 69–72, XI TITLE

77

x [107] 69 Codd. have ἀδελφεός τ' ἐπαυνη-; but the metre should be - - - - - (ἀδελφεός τοι Turyn). Our text has a speck on a single fibre in the right place for the tail of φ in αδελ]φ[, then, on the very corner of the fragment, at the right distance for the c of]φ[εου]c[, a dot now suggesting the end of a stroke, or an angle, slightly below line-level, hardly c: the second trace is low for c and should belong to its wide curve only if ink is lost; and before c one would expect to see the foot of γ. Perhaps only a mistaken ἀδελ]φ[ού]c] τ[, which would fit without difficulty.

x [108] 69]ψ[is a speck well below line-level at the right distance (though apparently rather low) for the bottom of the stem of γ in ἐκλ[ο]ψ[ε]c.

xi [1] margin The writing is smaller than in the text, but there is nothing to suggest a different hand. One expects either Θεσσαλῶν παιδι σταδίαι (codd.) or Θεσσαλῶν παιδι σταδίαι (lemma of schol. *inscr.* b). In the first line (rather above the level of [1] in the text) θρ[α]κυδ[αιωι] would end just clear of the coronis, whose upper end is preserved opposite x [109–11].

H. MAEHLER

5043. PINDAR, *Nemean Odes*

40 5B.110/D

fr. 1 4.5 × 4.1 cm

Third century

Twenty-two fragments of a roll of originally 46 columns (see below). Written in a sloping angular hand, very like that of **2365**, and likewise assignable to the third century; 10 letters = c.40 mm, 10 lines = c.57 mm. Iota in long-vowel diphthongs written consistently (six times). A few lection signs apparently by the original hand, others in a greyer ink. No annotation; one marginal symbol (x [96]). Titles written on a line within the column, with a blank line below and presumably a blank line above, unless at the head of a column, as the one surviving title, ode x. Height of column normally 28 or 29 lines, with height of writing c. 16 cm, plus margins; upper margin at least 3 cm, lower margin at least 2.8 cm. Number of columns in the roll: 46; column width (at x [63]: 29 letters plus 38 mm blank before the next column) 15–16 cm; length of roll therefore c.7 metres. The backs (↓) are blank.

In nine places we can identify a line as from the head or foot of a column. From these identifications it is possible to construct, with only a small margin of error, a complete picture of the content of the columns throughout the roll; their average length is just under 28.5 lines. In the table overleaf of sequences from known column-head to known column-foot, the numbers of lines include 3 for a title, 2 for a title at the head of a column;¹ the sequences are compatible with the assumption that except for one special case (ix [102–32]) all columns had either 28 or 29 lines.

¹ In the ancient colometry, *Nemean* iii, which in Heyne's text has 148 lines, had only 136 lines: twelve times (three times in each epode) a single ancient line, as attested by the metrical scholia, is printed by Heyne as two lines. The number [103/4] refers to one of these ancient lines (which appears in our text as a single line; so does the adjacent [101/2]).

i [1-83]	85 lines	3 cols. (2 × 28, 1 × 29) ^a
i [84]-iii [103/4]	170 lines	6 cols. (4 × 28, 2 × 29) ^b
iii [105]-iv [156]	199 lines	7 cols. (4 × 28, 3 × 29) ^b
v [1-84]	86 lines	3 cols. (1 × 28, 2 × 29) ^c
v [85]-ix [101]	481 lines	17 cols. (12 × 28, 5 × 29)
ix [102-32]	31 lines	1 col. (1 × 31) ^d
x [1-56]	58 lines	2 cols. (2 × 29)
x [57-84]	28 lines	1 col. (1 × 28)
x [85-112]	28 lines	1 col. (1 × 28)
x [113]-xi [63]	123 lines	5 cols. (see note e)

^a Or, allowing a further 2 lines for a heading of the whole book, 87 lines = 3 cols. (3 × 29).

^b The last line of col. ix may be either [103/4] or [105]. It is given here as [103/4]; if it is [105], the second sequence will have 171 lines (3 × 28, 3 × 29) and the third sequence 198 (5 × 28, 2 × 29).

^c Just possibly v [84] is not the last line of its column; if it is not it will (with columns of 28 or 29 lines) be the last line but one, with one line more in this sequence and one line fewer in the next. Of the indications (with the text) of lines lost above and below surviving fragments, only those for cols. xxiii and xxiv are affected by this possibility; figures dependent on it are given there in brackets.

^d An extra-long column to avoid carrying the end of the ode into a new column. The need for this would not arise elsewhere.

^e Probably x [113-70] (58 lines to end of ode) = 2 cols. (2 × 29), then xi [1-63] 96 (65 lines, plus subscription) = 3 cols.

The text is rather better than that of the medieval manuscripts, which in this book are very few; but there are no surprises. Accepted conjectures are confirmed at x 48 and x 60 (cf. also vi 62), and in trivialities at vi 51, ix 42, and x 42 (cf. also vi 55, x 43, x 60); a reading hitherto only implied by the scholia appears at iv 68. Errors in the medieval tradition are shown to be ancient at vi 50-51, x 41-2, and x 49 (cf. also iv 95, vi 53, viii 41, and trivialities at x 24, x 61). There is a new error (trivial) at x 33, and another in the corrupt x 41 (cf. also vi 51).

The ancient colometry is followed with a number of slips, all in places where it divides a word between lines or separates a word from a following postpositive; they occur in about one such place in four (8 or 9 in 38). The paragraphus is placed in principle between stanzas; in the two places that admit of verification it is once present and once absent. The use of the coronis at triad-end cannot be verified.

col. ii (*Nemean i*)

17-19 lines lost

fr. 1

- [45] 31]το[ν κατα]κρυ[ψας εχειν
αλλ εοντ]ων·ε[ν τε παθειν και ακου
και φιλο]ις εξαρ[κεων
]κ[οι]ναι γαρ ερχ[οντ ελπιδες
]πολυπ[ο]νων [ανδρων εγω δ Η
[50]]ρακλεος αντε[χομαι προφρονως
34]εν κορυφ[αις αρεταν
[52]]μεγαλα[ις αρχαιον στρυνων λογον
2-3 lines lost

[46] 32 εδ with BVU, rightly (τ̄ D).

col. iii (*Nemean i*)

26-7 lines lost

fr. 2

- [82] 53 το γαρ οικειον πιε[ζει]ε[ι]
[83] 54 πανθ ομως ευ]θυσ δ' α[πημων καρδια
foot of column

col. ix (*Nemean iii*)

25-7 lines lost

fr. 3

- [101/2] 59 οφρα θαλασσιαις ανεμων ριπαισι πε]μφθεις [
[103/4] 60 υπο Τροιαν δορικτυπον αλαλαν Λυ]κιων τε [
0-1 line lost

Heyne's [101-2] and [103-4] each on a single line, and similarly [106-7]: this is the ancient colometry, attested in the metrical scholia. (See p. 77 n. 1.)

[103/4-5] Wrong division, for Λυκίων | τε.

After [103/4], blank papyrus for two lines. The next two lines are [105] *προσμένοι και Φρυγών* | [106/7] *Δαρδάνων τε και εγχεσφόροις επιμίξαις*; of these, [105] might have been written in this column (it would end well clear of the preserved papyrus), [106/7] could hardly have been, for its last three or four letters would have survived.

col. xii (*Nemean iv*)

0-3 lines lost

fr. 4

- [17] 11 υμνου προκωμ]ι[ο]ν ειη
δεξαιτο δ Αιακι]δαν [

- ευπυργον εδος δι]και []
 [20] ξεναρκει κοινο]ν []
 [21] 13 φεγγος ει δ ετι ζαμε]ν[ει
 20-23 lines lost

col. xiv (*Nemean iv*)

1-4 lines lost

fr. 5

- [74] 45 μελος πεφιλημενον] []
 [75] Οιωμαι τε και Κυπρωι εν] []
 θα Τευκρος απαρχει] []
 ο Τελαμωνιαδας αταρ] []
 Αιας Καλαμιν εχει πατρωι]αν· []
 εν δ Ευξεινωι πελαγει] []
 [80] φαενναν Αχιλευς] []
 50 νασον Θετις δε κρατει] []
 Φθιαι Νεοπτολεμος δ α]... []
 πειρωι διαπρυσαι] []
 βουβοται τοθι πρωνες ε] []
 [85] ξοχοι κατακεινται] []
 Δωδωναθεν αρχομενοι] []
 προς Ιονιον πορον] []
 Παλιου δε παρ ποδι λα]] []
 τρειαν Ιαωλκον] []
 [90] 55 πολεμιαι χειρι προστ]ραπων []
 [91] 56 Πηλευσ παρεδωκεν Αι]μονες[ει]ν []
 7-9 lines lost

[82] 51 In the margin, faint traces of ink on a rubbed surface; its writing, a much finer pen than the text (but they seem very irregular; perhaps just offset?).

[86-7] The division here and in the corresponding [151-2] *Μελη|cian* accords with the metrical scholia (one syllable earlier than in Heyne) and is in each case required by the space.

[91] 56 *Αιμόνεσσιν*: -cc- with DV, rightly (-c- B); -iv as Triklinios (-ι codd.).

col. xv (*Nemean iv*)

10-12 lines lost

fr. 6

- [111] 68]γαν εχ]γενες αυτωι
 [112] 69]].[]
 15-16 lines lost

The fragment must belong here: its first line might be viii [85] 50]μανεπ[, or conceivably v [35] 19]τανεπ[, or xi [21] 16]γανεπ[, but none of these could have had an accent in the right place below. This site not only accommodates the accent but accommodates it on a proper name; of thirteen other surviving accents, five are on proper names.

[111] 68 Presumably *έγγενές* with the scholia (*ές γενεάς* codd., unmetrically). In *δώρα και κράτος έγγενές αυτώι* this *έγγενές* will have to mean 'inherent in his family (after him)', and many have preferred Ursinus's *ές γένος*. Wilamowitz improved on this by *έγ γένος*, with *έγ (= έν)* c. acc. = *ές*; but if Pindar did write *έγ γένος*, the corruption to *έγγενές* would have been a very early one.

]ν is the foot of an upright: N suggested but not guaranteed; χ[is either τ or π: the whole of an upright and most of the cross-stroke.

[112] Only a long acute accent (original hand?); its present bottom left end (where it is broken off) will have come either over the ι of *Γαδειρων* or slightly to its left.

col. xvi (*Nemean iv*)

20-21 lines lost

fr. 7 + 8

- [149] 92 ελ]πετα[ι τις εκαστος
 [150] εξ]οχωτ[ατα φασθαι
 1 line lost
 [152] cian εριδας στ]ρεφοι []
 ρηματα πλεκ]ων'απά []
 λαιστος εν λο]γωι ελκειν[]
 [155] 95 μαλθακα μεν] φρονεων [εσλοιοι
 [156] 96 τραχυς δε παλι]γκοτοις εφ[εδρος
 foot of column

[149-50] Wrong division, for *εξοχωτατα*; the corresponding [19-20] are divided rightly.

[151-2] For the division *Μελη|cian*, see above on [86-7].

[152] 93 *εριδαι* (paraphrased in schol.) is a likelier fit than *εριδα* (codd.).

A damaged trace close above ε (now horizontal, but ink has been lost). Unlike a tail, nor should there be a tailed letter in [151]; an acute not suggested, nor would *στρεφοι* need an accent.

[153-4] Wrong division, for *απά|λαιστος*.

[154] 94 *ελκειν* with codd. (*ελκει B^o*).

[155] 95 Apparently (from the space) *μαλθακά* with codd., unmetrically (*μαλακά* E. Schmid).

col. xix (*Nemean v*)

22-3 lines lost

fr. 9 + 10

- [79] 43 ν]ν τ[εος ματρως αγαλλει
 [80] κ]εινο]ν ομοσπορον εθνος Πυθεας
 [81] 44 α] Νεμ[εα μεν αραρε
 1 line lost
 [83] 45 αλικας δ ελθον]τας [οι
 [84] 46 κοι τ εκρατει Ν]ίκου [τ εν ευαγ
 0 (-1) line lost

[83-4] Wrong division, for οἴκοι | τε. I cannot be certain between οἴκοι τε and | οἴκοι τε.

After [84], blank papyrus for one line. Almost certainly foot of column: [85] could end clear of the surviving papyrus only if [83-4] were divided | οἴκοι τε and at the same time [84-5] were wrongly divided εὐαγγελί |, leaving [85] λόφωι· χαίρω δ' ὄτι; and even then it would be as likely as not to end clear. If [85] was written here, it was presumably itself the last line of the column: see n. c to the table on p. 78.

col. xxiii (*Nemean vi*)

(14-15-16 lines lost)

fr. 11

[85] 50 στασαντος επαλ]τ[ο βαρυ δε
 φιν νεικος εμ]πες Αχιλ []
 λευς χαμαι καβ]βαις αφ αρματ[ων
 φαεννας υιον] εντ' εναρι []
 ζεν Αουκ ακμαι] []
 [90] εγχεος ζακοτοι] []
 ο και ταυταν με]ν παλαι[ο]τεροι[]
 οδον αμαξιτον] ευρον []
 επομαι δε και αυ]τος εχων με]λεταν
 55 το δε παρ ποδι ν]αος ελις[ο]μεν[ον
 [95] 56 αιει κυματων λ]εξε[ται] []
 ο-3(-4) lines lost

[85-6] 50 Wrong division, for βαρὸν | δέ; unless (what seems on the long side) | δέ φιν (Aldine).

[86-7] 50-51 ἔμπεσ' Ἀχιλλεύς in the same order as codd. (*Ἀχιλλεύς ἔμπεσε* Hermann and editors generally); -λλ- with D (-λ- B).

[87] 51 -βαις as Turyn (-βάς codd.). Before this, |λευς χαμαι καβ] with codd. seems about a letter too long (Hermann's *κατα*] would be far too long); perhaps κα]βαις with one β omitted?

[89] 52 With ἀκμαί (schol. 85a τῆ ἀκμῆ τοῦ δόρατος, rightly) the letters just fit comfortably; αἰχμαί (codd.) perhaps not excluded, but less likely.

[91] 53 Presumably ταύταν with codd.; ταῦτα (Pauw, rightly) is too short.

[94] 55 Above the line, just overlapping the left-hand edge of the ο of ν]αος, an apparent vestige of ink on the edge of the papyrus; grave or makron on α not suggested.

[95] 55-6 If]εξε[is right (only vestiges of the tops, but not]εξε[; of the second ε, only a speck), then αἰεὶ (Triklinios, rightly) fits better than ἀεὶ (codd.).

col. xxiv (*Nemean vi* and vii)

(18-19-22 lines lost)

fr. 12

(vii) [4] 3 ου φαος ου μελαιναν δ]ρακεν[τες ευφροναν
 τεαν αδελφεαν ελαχ]ομεν []
 αγλαογυιαν Ηβαν] []
 5 αναπνεομεν δ ουχ α]παντ[εε επ ια
 [8] 6 ειργει δε ποτμωι ζυγο]ν []
 1-5 lines lost

[5] 4 ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν rightly with D (*ἐλάχομεν ἀδελφεὰν B*).

col. xxxii (*Nemean viii*)

17-21 lines lost

fr. 13

[69] 40] . . []
 [70] σοφοικ ανδρων αερθ]εις' εν [δικαιοικ
 42 τε προς υγρον αιθερα χ]ρειαι [δε παντοι
 [72] αι φιλων ανδρων τα με]ν α[μφι πονοικ
 3-7 lines lost

[69] 40 A speck off the line, followed by what may be the foot of an upright on the line. |ραῖς ἔέρραις ὡς ὅτε δ]έν[δρεον is rather short on the left; | ἔέρραις ὡς ὅτε δένδρε]ον[, with wrong division, might fit better. In either case, no clue to the word after δένδρεον (*ἀΐσσει* codd., corruptly).

[70-71] 41-2 Spacing might rather suggest εν [δικαιοικ τε | προς. Either way, it does not seem possible to determine whether or not the papyrus had the monosyllable that is lacking in codd. at the beginning of [70] (*ἐν* σοφοῖς Boeckh).

col. xxxvi (*Nemean ix*)

26-7 lines lost

fr. 14

[100] 42 φεγγος εν αλικια]ι[]
 [101] πρωται τα δ αλ]λαις αμ[εραις
 foot of column

[101] 42 ἀμέραις as Triklinios, rightly (*ἡμέραις* codd.).

col. xxxviii (*Nemean x*)

fr. 15

head of column

inscr. Θειαιωι Αργειωι π]αλαιστη[ι
] []
 [1] 1 Δαναου πολιν αγ]λαο
 [2] θρονων τε πεντ]η[κοντα κοραν Χαριτες
 25 lines lost

inscr. As restored by Boeckh (no title in codd.), except that Θεαῖος may have been misspelt Θεαῖος (as it is misspelt by codd., unmetrically, in both places where it appears in the text, [45] 24 and [69] 37).

col. xxxix (*Nemean* x)

7 lines lost

fr. 16

[35]	19	βραχυ μοι στομα παντ] ανα[] [
		γηρασθ οων Αργειον εχε]ι τεμενος [
	20	μοιραν εσλων εστι δε] και κορος αν [
		θρωπων βαρυς αντιασα]ι [
		αλλ ομως ευχορδον εγει]ρε λυραν [
[40]		και παλαισματων λαβε] φρον [
		τιδ αγων τοι χαλκεος] [
		δαμον οτρυνει ποτι βο]υθυσιαν Η [
		ρας αεθλων τε κρισιν] [
		Ουλια παις ενθα νικας]αις δις [
[45]		εσχε Θειαιδος ευφορων λ]α[θ]αν πονων [
	25	εκρατησε δε και ποθ Ε]λ [
		λανα στρατον Πυθωνι] τύχαι τε μολων [
	26	και τον Ισθμοι και Νεμ]εαι στεφανον [
[49]		Μοικαισι τ εδωκ αροσαι] [

7 lines lost

[44-5] Wrong division, for ε]χε; right in the corresponding [78-9] and [89-90], differently wrong in [112-13].

[45] 24 On the left, space indicates ε]χε (-ε D, -ε B) not ε]χεν (recc., rightly); and excludes ε]φρόνων (variant in schol., superscript in B).

col. xl (*Nemean* x)

fr. 17 + fr. 18 col. i

head of column

[57]	31	γνωτ] αειδ]ω θεωι τε και ος [
		τις α]μιλλ]αται περι [
		ε]χρατων [αεθλων κορυφαις [
[60]		υ]πατον δ [εσχεν Πισα [
		Η]ρακλε]ος [τεθμον αδει [
		αι] γε μαν [αμβολαδαν [
		ε]ν τελετ]αις δις Αθαναιων μιν ομ]φαι [
	35	κ]ωμας]αν γαιαι δε καυθεισαι [
[65]		π]υρι κα]ρπος ελαιας [
	36	ε]μολεν [Ηρας τον ενα [
		νο]ρα λα]ον εν αγγεων [
[68]		ερκε]ς]ιν παμποικιλοις [

7 lines lost

fr. 19

[76]	41	ομματων νικα]φοριαι]ε γαρ οσαις ιπ [
		ποτροφον α]ς]τυ Π]ροι [
		τοιο θαλησε]ν Κ]ο]ρ]ω]θου τ [εν μυχοις [
		και Κλεων]άιων [προς ανδρων τετρακις [
[80]	43	Κικωνοθε δ] α]ργυρω [

4 lines lost

That [57] was the first line of its column depends not on inspection (no papyrus is preserved above it) but on deduction: the final]φαι of [63], on the left-hand edge of the fragment containing col. xli, is rather higher than [91], the seventh line of that column.

[60] 32 υ]πατον with B, rightly (ε]στατον D).

[62] 33 γε μαν unmetrically for γε μεν (B; μεν D).

[64-5] Wrong division, for καυ]θεισαι; the corresponding [132-3] are divided rightly.

[76-8] 41-2 Codd. have ι]πποτροφον α]στν τοδ Π]ροι]τοιο θαλησε, which breaks the period-end: word-end in all nine corresponding places, *brevis in longo* in four of them. The corruption is now shown to be ancient, both by this copy and by 5045, which has [77-8] with the same word order and the same division between lines. Boeckh's transposition Π]ροι]τοιο τόδ' ι]πποτροφον | α]στν θαλησεν puts the words in the right order; it draws support from schol. 76: πόσαις γάρ ι]πποτροφίαις, φησίν, α]στη ή πόλις ούκ ε]θαλλεν ή τοδ Π]ροι]του. For Argos as 'Proitos' city' cf. [Hes.] fr. 37.10 (Bias and Melampous) εις "Αργος Π]ροι]το]ν π]ά]ρα διον ι]κοντο and Pherecydes *FGH Hist* 3 F 114 (= schol. MV on *Odyssey* xv 225) Π]ροι]του . . . τοδ βασιλέως τών Αργείων.

The space available on the left will accommodate the expected letters with an even margin in all five lines of this fragment ([76-80]). But in [77] there is no room between]ς] and]οι for [τυτοπρ]; with το omitted, [τυπρ] fits perfectly. The absence of τοδ may be private to this one copy; we cannot know what was in 5045.

The]ς] in [77] is represented by the hook at the foot and a tiny speck from the right-hand side of the main stroke (perhaps compatible, given abrasion, with other round-bottomed letters); between this and the next letter a fairly wide interval. I should perhaps say expressly that I do not think τ]ο[πρ]ο]ι]ο] an acceptable alternative to α]ς]τυπρ]οι]ο] [τοιο (whereas in]ς]τ the τ would fall clear of the surviving papyrus, in]ο[π the left foot of the π ought to be visible); in any case there would be no hope of restoring a text with the words in this position.

[78] 42 θαλησεν (as 5045, Triklinios), not θαλησε (codd., unmetrically); the]ν could not be]ε. Of the]ρ] of Κ]ο]ρ]ω]θου, only a trace of the tip of the long descender remains above the second n of [79] Κλεων]άιων.

[80] 43 Space points to Κικωνόθε (5045, E. Schmid), not -θεν (codd., unmetrically).

col. xli (*Nemean* x)

fr. 18 col. ii

head of column

- [85] 46 ἐξ[ελ]εγχειν [μακροτερας
γαρ αριθμη[σαι] σχολας
ον τε Κλείτ[ωρ] και Τεγεα και Αχαιων
υψίβατοι π[ολιες
και Λύκαιο[ν] παρ Διος θηκε δρομωι
[90] <—> κυν πόδων χ[ειρων] τε νικασαι σθενει
Καστορος δ' ελ[θοντος] επι
ξενιαν παρα [Παμφαη
50 και κασιγνη[του] Πολυδευ
κέσ.ου θαυμά [σφισιν
[95] εγγενες έμμ[εν] αεθλη
]—τ[αι]σ αγα[θ]οισι[ν] επει
ευρυχορο]ν ταμ[ια]ι Σπαρτας αγωνων
[98] 53 μοιραν Ερ]μαι [και συν Η
14 lines lost

[85] 46 ν[] (ἐξελέγχειν B and 5045, rightly) seems likelier than μ[] (ἐξελέγχει D).

[87] 47 ὄν τε with B and 5045, rightly (οὔτε D).

[90] 48 ποδῶν χ[ειρῶν] τε as E. Schmid, rightly (ποδῶν τε χειρῶν τε B, ποδῶν τε χειρῶν D); so also (after the correction of a different mistake) 5045. The χ[] (tip of left foot) could not be τ[].

Paragraphus omitted below the line (end of antistrophe).

[92] 49 παρὰ [Παμφάη] with codd., unmetrically (παρ Παμφάη E. Schmid); of α[], the bottom left extremity, too oblique for the foot of τ[].

[94] 50 κέσ corrected to κέος by a superscript ο (original hand?).

[95] 51 ἔμμεν with B, rightly (ἔμμεν D).

[96] 51 In the margin, just clear of and just above the tip of the cross-stroke of τ, a horizontal line, and beneath its left-hand part an irregular blob of ink, almost touching the line at the left, curving down irregularly to the right, and broken off at the left and at the bottom; if a letter, either the ink has spread into a blot or there has been deletion or correction. This is line 1124 of the book (excluding titles); whether this was stichometric λ (= 1100) cannot be verified.

col. xlii (*Nemean* x)

fr. 20

head of column

- [113] 60 ετρωσεν χαλκεας λογ]χας ακμ[αι
απο Ταυγετοιο πεδαυ] []
[115] γαζων ιδε Λυγκευς δρυ]ος ε[ν] στελεχει
[116] 62 ημενος κεινου γαρ επιχ]θο[ν]ιων

13 lines lost

fr. 21

- [130] 69 θεις δ αρ α]κον[τι] θοωι
70 ηλασε Λυγ]κεος [εν] πλευραιι χαλκον
71 Ζευς δ επ Ι]δαι π[υρφορον
[133] πλαξε ψο]λοεν[τα] κεραυνον

3 lines lost

fr. 22

- [137] 73 ταχεως δ επ α]δε[λφεου
βιαν παλι]ν χωρ[η]σεν ο Τυνδαριδας
[139] 74 και μιν ου]πω τ[ε]θναοτ ασθματι δε
1-2 lines lost

[113] 60 ἀκμῆ as Pauw (αἰχμῆ codd., unmetrically). On the left, space indicates (a) wrong division, for χολω|θεις ἔτρωσεν (see on [44-5]), (b) ἔτρωσεν, rightly, rather than ἔτρωσε (-ε B, -ε D).

[115] 61 Space suggests ἴδε, wrongly, rather than ἴδεν (-ε B, -ε D).

[131] 70 Λυγκέος with B, rightly (-έως D).

[137] 73 ἀδελφεοῦ with B, rightly (ἀλφεοῦ D).

[138] 73 χώρησεν with D, rightly (ἐχ- B).

Unidentified fragment

fr. 23

.] . [] κ [

The trace in the first line is apparently the tip of a tail, the letter before it not being tailed. A good many places fit the pattern of the two lines (assuming correct colometry): two with]τ[, eight with]ρ[, seven with]γ[, none with]φ[or]ψ[; though in some of them the letter before this is too wide or too narrow for the space. The tail is not one of the writer's longest: most readily]τ[, less readily]ρ[, least readily]γ[. If]τ[, presumably vii [152-3] 103 | ἀ]τ[ρόποισι Νεοσπόλεμον ἐλ]κ[ύσαι κτλ., either at the very foot of col. xxix or near the head (0-2 lines lost) of col. xxx. Not ν [38-9] 20-21 | π]τ[οι and | κ[αί: | π]τ[too long for the space.

With]ρ[, x [142-3] 76 would be tempting (head of col. xliii, with fragments preserved from the head of four of the five columns before it), but in [142] | ὄ]ρ[θιον the ο seems appreciably too narrow. Not, with]γ[, v [79-80] 43, where another fragment has | ν]υτ[and | κ]ενο[: the two fragments cannot be combined.

H. MAEHLER

[85] 46 ἐξέλεγχεν with B (and 5043?), rightly (-ει D).

[86] 46 It is not clear what the comma after ἀριθμησαι means.

[87] 47 ὄν τε with B and 5043, rightly (οὔτε D).

[88] margin Apparently two lines of small writing; of the first line, a triangular letter followed by a low trace (λυ[καιο]ν might fit).

[89] 48 Λύκειον: Λύκαιοι 5043 and codd. (Λύκιοι Ambr. B³ = ε' Mommsen).

[90] 48 *κὺν χειρῶν παδῶν τε* with *παδῶν* corrected to *ποδῶν* (α struck out and ο written above); both *χειρῶν* and *ποδῶν* marked for transposition by superscript numerals: α' over the π of *ποδῶν*; doubtless β' over the χ of *χειρῶν*, but there is a hole in the papyrus; all in ink indistinguishable from that of the text. The resultant *κὺν χειρῶν ποδῶν τε* (as in 5043) is the true reading; for the corruptions in codd., see on 5043.

[92] 49 The line ought to be |ξενιανπαρ(α)παμφαη| (παρὰ codd. and 5043, unmetrically; παρ E. Schmid). All that remains is the upper half of a superscript letter, more or less above where the ρ would be, with no other superscript writing to its left and the papyrus broken off at its right; π suggested, ο or ρ perhaps not excluded; certainly not λ.

H. MAEHLER

5046. XENOPHON, ANABASIS I.5, 8-12

25 3B.54/K(4)

12 × 25.5 cm

Third century

Remains of a single column of 34 lines, with all margins preserved, written with the fibres in a sloping angular hand of the third century. Six tiny scraps (not transcribed below) remain unplaced. The back has been reused to accommodate a badly damaged documentary text in two distinct hands, of which the first is written upside down with respect to the text on the front, and the second at right angles to the first. The sequence ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατόρων Διοκλήττιανου is legible, placing this document during the joint rule of Diocletian, 286-305.

The text was written in unusually wide columns (10.5 cm), which perhaps reflects the relative informality of the hand (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 103-8). Sections are marked by paragraphi after lines 17 and 31, though not after 7, and accompanied at 31 by an online blank space. A high dot is visible at 20, marking sentence end. Evidence of corrections is not found in what survives. Iota adscript is systematically omitted.

The text has been collated with the Budé edition of P. Masqueray (⁶1992), with reference also to the Teubner of C. Hude (²1972). This is a generally good copy of the *Anabasis*, with few mistakes, and appears to corroborate the conclusions drawn by A. H. R. E. Paap, *The Xenophon Papyri* (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. XVIII: 1970), based on the readings of III 463 and IX 1181, PSI XI 1196 + XV 1485, to which add now P. Berol. 11904, ed. G. Poethke, *APF* 41 (1995) 42-4, and Pap. Wessely Prag. Gr. I 520, ed. R. Pintaudi, *AnPap* 10-11 (1998-99) 144-5 (quotation from, rather than copy of, *Anab.* I 5.12?). Paap concludes (p. 11) that 'families c and f receive, where they differ, equal support in acceptable variants: the choice between the variants in the manuscript tradition of the *Anabasis* as a whole is to be based exclusively on

their merit'. Thus here, for example, the papyrus agrees with f against c at 5, 12, 22, 24, and probably 7, and with c against f at 10, 11 and 16-17. Where the papyrus stands alone against the MSS, it seems to preserve an inferior text: once in word order at 7-8, and again in the obviously weaker φόρτου at 21, so that we are unlikely to be facing true variants.

εστηκ[ω]ς ιεντο ωπερ [αν δραμοι τις περι νικης §8
 και μα[λα κα]τα πρανους [γρηλοφου εχοντες τουτους τε
 τους [πολυτ]ελεις χιτωνας κ[αι τας ποικιλας αναξυ
 ριδας [εν]ι[ο]ι δε και στρεπτους [περι τοις τρ]αχηλ[οις και ψε
 5 λι[α] επ[ι τ]ων χειρων ευθυσ δε[ε] συν] τουτοις ει[σ]πηδησαν
 τες εις τον πληρον θακσον η [ω]ς τι]ς αν [ω]ετο μετεωρους §9
 εξεκομισαν τ[α]ς αμαξας [το δε κυ]νπαν δηλος [ην σπευ
 δων Κυρος π[α]σαν τη[ν] οδον και] ου διατρειβων [οπου
 μη επισιτισμου εν[ε]κ[α] η τιω]ς] αλλου αναγκαιου [εκα
 10 θιζετο νομιζων οσω θαπτον ελ[θ]οι τρ]ουτω απαρ[α
 σκευαστοτερω βασιλει μαχεισθαι οσω δε] σχολαιοτερον
 τορουτω [πλ]ε[ο]ν βασιλει συναγειρ[ε]σθαι στρατευμα κα[ι
 συνιδειν] δε ην τω προσεχο[ντι τ]ον ν[ουν] βα[σι]λε
 15 ω[ς] αρ]χη πληθει μεν [χ]ωρας κ[αι αν]θρωπων ι[σ]χυρ[α] ου
 κα τ[οι]ς δε μηκεσι [τω]ν [ο]δων [και τ]ω διεσπα[σθαι τα]ς δε[υ
 ναμεις ασθενης [ει] τι[ς] δια ταχεων τον πολεμον εποι
 ειτο περαν δε του Ευφ[ρατου] κατα τους ερημους §10
 σταθμους [η]ν πολισ εν[δ]αιμων
] εκ ταυτης [οι στρατιωτ]αι ηγοραζον τα επιτη[δεια
 20 σχεδιαις διαβαινο]ντες ωδε' διφθερ[α]ς ας ειχον
 στεγασματα επιμπλα]σαν φορτου κουφου [ε]ιτα συνη]γον
 και συνεσπων ως μη] απτε[σ]θαι της καρφης το υδωρ επι
 τουτων δι]εβαινο[ν και ελαμ]β[ανον τα] ε[πι]τη[δεια] οι
 νον τε εκ τ]ης βαλα[νου] πεποιημενον της απο του] φοινικος
 25 και σιτον] μελιν[ης] τουτο γαρ ην εν τη χωρ]α πλειστον
 αμφιλεξ]αντων [δε τι ενταυθα των τε του] Μενωνος §11
 στρατιωτ]ων και τ[η] Κλεαρχου ο Κλεαρχος κρινα]ς αδικειν
 τον του Μεν]ων[ος] πληγα]ς ενεβαλεν [ο δε ελθων
 π]ρ[ο]ς το εαυτ[ου] στρ[α]τ[ευμ]α ελε[γ]ε[ν] ακουσα]ντες [δε ο]ι [σ]τ]ρ[α]τ[ευμ]α
 30 τιωται εχαλεπαινον και ω[ρ]γιζοντο ισ]χυρως τω
 Κλεαρχω] τη δ αυτη η[μερα] Κλεαρχος ελθ]ων επι την §12
 διαβασιν του π[ο]ταμου [και ε]κε[ι] κατασκεψαμενος
 την αγοραν αφιππευει επι την εαυτου [σκηνην] δι
 α του Μ[ενων]ος στρατ[ευματος] συν ολιγ[οις] . . .

3 τους [πολυτ]ελεεις with FMHCB (τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελείς): τοὺς τε πολυτελείς DV.

5 ἐπ[ι τ]ῶν χειρῶν with f: περὶ ταῖς χερσίν CBAE.

6 θασσον: θάπτον codd. Apparently a simple slip, for the scribe has θαπτον at 10.

7 1. κύμπαν.

7–8 [ἡν σπευ]δων Κυρος: Κύρος ὡς σπεύδων CBAE: ὡς om. FMDH. In the papyrus, there is apparently insufficient space for ὡς in lacuna here. Additionally, in all the MSS (ὡς) σπεύδων comes after Κύρος.

8 1. διατρίβων.

9–10 [εκα]θίζετο with DV: ἐκαθέζετο rell.

10 ὡς θαπτον with C¹ D: ὡς μὲν θ. rell.

ε[λθ]οι with most MSS: ἄν ἔλθοι FMBC².

10–11 ἀπαρ[α]σκευαστοτέρω with codd.: ἀπαρασκευοτέρω Dindorf.

11 μαχεῖσθαι with CBA: μάχεσθαι FMDH, συμμαχεῖσθαι E.

σχολαιτερον with E: σχολαιότερον rell.

12 βασιλεῖ συναγειρ[ε]σθαι with FMDH (βασιλεῖ om. V): συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ CBAE.

13–14 τῇ βασιλέως ἀρχῇ Cpr DV: τοῦ βασιλ. ἀρχῆν A, ἡ βασιλ. ἀρχῆ FMBC. The papyrus does not agree with A here, but it is impossible to tell without the article in lacuna at 13 whether ἀρχῆ at 14 is to be construed as nominative or dative.

16–17 ἐποι[ε]ιτο with CBAD: ποιοῖτο FMH.

18–19 The lacuna here is too great to determine line division.

21 φορτου: χόρτου codd.; φόρτου here is weaker, and presumably represents a simple error.

22 καρφης with FMH: κορυφῆς CBAD.

24 του] φουικος with FM, Suda: τῆς φοινίκης CBA.

27 και τ[ι]: τῶν τοῦ Κλ. CBAE, τῶν FH, τοῦ Κλ. M and Suda s.v. ἀμφιλεξαντων, του τῶν Κλ. Rehdantz. The lacuna is too large to determine with certainty how many articles were originally written here, or in what order.

D. LEITH

5047. XENOPHON, CYROPAEDIA II 4.15–17

66 6B.29/C(22)

fr. 1 3.2 × 8.8 cm

Fourth century

Two fragments of a roll with generous margins of 3.8 cm each; the first preserves part of the upper, the second part of the lower margin. The number of letters per line varies between 12 and 17, with an average of 14; on this basis, it can be calculated that the column had 34 lines, that 9 lines are lost between the two fragments, and that the original height of the column was c.25 cm. The hand is a skilled and very regular round 'biblical' majuscule similar to that of XXIV 2385, which may be dated to the fourth century. The back is blank.

The papyrus seems to have diverged from the transmitted text in lines 8–10 of fr. 1, but the remains of its last three lines are so faded that it is difficult to say what its reading was. In line 2 of fr. 2, the omission of the manuscripts' πολὺ seems likely. Other divergences from the MS tradition are insignificant. The text has been collated with the editions of E. C. Marchant (1910) and W. Gemoll (1912, 2nd edn revised by J. Peters 1968).

fr. 1

ο Κναξαρ[η]ς ελθοι τις

§15

αυτων [ει]ς χειρας

και ει τις ο[ρμω]ιτο ε

π αυτους [α]παρασκευ

5

αστοτερ[ο]ι αν λαμ

βανουιντ[ο] ακουε τοι

§16

νυν εφη [ο] Κυρος

εαν . . . ος[

. . . ν ε . . . [

10

]ον[.

fr. 2

traces [υπο

πτευ[ο]ιο ει δε πλει

ων η [δυναμικ φαινοι (?)

. . τ[.]ης[.] [ειω

5

θας θηρα[ν] τουτο

ηδη υπο[π]τον αν

χενουιτο [α]λλ εστιν

§17

εφη ο Κυρ[ο]ς και προ

φασιν κατ[α]σκευα

10

και και εν[θ]αδε ουκ

α]πιστον [και ην τις

ε]κεισε εξα[γ]γειλη

ως εγω βο[υ]λοιμην

μεγαλην [θ]ηραν

15

ποιησαι κ[α]ι ιππεας

fr. 1

1 The papyrus evidently omitted και before ἔλθοι, as do most MSS.

4–5 [α]παρασκευ[α]στοτερ[ο]ι, with DF: ἀπαρασκευάστοι rell.

8–10 The bottom part of this fragment is badly abraded, the ink is very faded. In line 8, εαν τι δοξ[] cannot be read, as the last letter before the break is round (almost certainly c). In line 9, the only certain letter is ε, followed by traces on the lower line which may be compatible with ρω (ερω).

fr. 2

2–3 ει δε πολὺ πλείων MSS (πλείω DF): with this reading, line 2 would be 19 letters long; perhaps πολὺ was omitted.

4 . . τ[: indistinct traces of 2 letters, then horizontal level with tops of letters; after the gap,]ης. [: foot of a vertical, lower arc of ε or c, then trace of a round letter: ε? (τῆς cῆς ἔχων A, ῆς ἔχων DFG, τῆς ῆς ἔχων H; the papyrus may have had τῶ τ[ης] ης ε[χων].

5 The papyrus evidently had *τουτο* (omitted by HAG).

7 *γενουτο: γίγνοιτο* DF.

10 *και εν[θαδε: και]* omitted by CE.

12 ε]κεισε εξα[: *ἐξαγγέλλη ἐκείσε* CE, *ἐκείσε ἐξαγγείλη* DF, *ἐξαγγείλη δῆ* G (*ἐξαιτῆ δῆ* in HA may be the result of misreading *αγγειλη* in a majuscule MS).

H. MAEHLER

5048. XENOPHON, *MEMORABILIA* II 6.12–21

67 6B.6/F(3–4) + 4/K(2–4)

21 × 24 cm

Second century

The greater part of four columns of a tall papyrus roll has been pieced together from seventeen fragments. The text is written in a fairly small, neat and regular rounded hand very similar to the second hand of V 841 (plate III), with which it also shares the strict bilinearity (except for the long vertical of φ) and the frequent serifs that tend to appear at the ends of verticals and sometimes at the top of λ, Δ, and λ. It may therefore be assigned to the first half of the second century. The top and bottom margins measure between 4 and 4.3 cm each; the roll was c.24 cm high, the column height is c.15.5 cm; there are 30 lines to the column, with an average of 19 letters to the line. The back (↓) is blank.

The scribe seems to have used punctuation by middle stop quite frequently (ii 1, 4, iii 18, 19, 20, 26); unmarked elision occurs at ii 3, 17 and probably iii 5; iota adscript is written at i 20 and 24, but not at i 3, 17, ii 2, 30; diaeresis at iii 6 and iv 24. Paragraphi mark changes of speaker (ii 5, 16, iii 26, iv 12) or a pause in the argument (iii 15).

After PSI II 121 (M–P³ 1559, LDAB 4169) and P. Cair. JE 45622 (M–P³ 1560, LDAB 4204), this is only the third text of *Memorabilia* to come from Oxyrhynchus. The text does not diverge significantly from the manuscript tradition. It corrects an old corruption at i 6. Two words accidentally omitted from i 23 have been added in a small, sloping hand above the line. The same hand may be responsible for the annotations to the right of iii 20–21 and in the margin below col. iii; the first of these seems to be a variant (*ἀρπαγες* for *ἀκρατεῖς*) that is not otherwise attested. At ii 24–25, the papyrus shares the longer version (*ὁ οἶδα, ἔφη ὁ Cωκράτης*) with AB against the other manuscripts. The annotation to the left of ii 13 was added by the original scribe (see note).

The text has been collated with the editions of E. C. Marchant (²1921) and C. Hude (1934).

col. i

ασθεντας ουκ α]λλα το[ις] §12
 επ αρετηι φιλ]ο[τ]ειμουμε
 νοικ ουτως ε]πηδον cχε
 δον τι λεγει]ς τοιαυτα χρη
 5 ναι εκαστω]ι επαιδειν
 οια μη νομιε]ι ο ακουων
 τον επαινου]ντα καταγε
 λωντα λεγει]ν ουτ[ω] μιν
 γαρ εχθιων] αν ειη [κ]α[ι]
 10 απελαυνοι τ]ους ανθρω
 πους αφ εαυτου ει] τον ε[ι]
 δοτα οτι μικρο]ς τε και αι
 cχρος και ασθε]νης εστιν
 επαινοιη λε]γων οτι
 15 καλος τε και μ]εγας και
 ιcχυρος εστιν] αλλας δε
 τινας οισθα ε]πωδας
 ουκ αλλ ηκουσα μ]εν οτι §13
 Περικλης πολλ]ας επι
 20 σταιτο ασ επαδ]ων τη
 πολει εποiei αυ]την φι
 λειν αυτον Θεμ]ιστοκλης
 δε πως εποiησε φ]ιλειν αυ
 τον μα Δι ουκ επα]ιδων
 25 αλλα περιαιψας το αγ]αθον
 αυτη δοκειc μοι] λεγειν §14
 ω Cωκρατες ως ει μ]ελλοι
 μεν αγαθον τινα] κτη
 cασθαι φιλον ημ]ας αυτους
 30 αγαθους δει γεν]εσθαι

col. ii

λε]γειν τε και πραττειν
 cυ] δ ωου εφη ο [C]ωκρατης
 οι]ον τ εινα[ι πον]ηρον
 ου[τ]α· χρηcτους φιλους
 5 [κτ]ηcαςθ[α]ι ε[ωρω]ν γαρ §15

εφη ο Κριτοβουλος [ρ]ητο
 ρας [τε φ]αυλους αγα[θ]οις δη
 [μηγορ]οις [φιλους ο]ντα[ς]
 [και στρατ]η[γειν] ου[χ ικα]
 10 [νους πανυ στρατηγικοις]
 [ανδρασιν εταιρους αρ]
 ο[υν εφη και περι ου δια]
 .σεθ [λεγομεθα οισθα τινας]
 οι α[νωφελεις οντες ωφελι]
 15 [μους δυνανται φιλους ποι]
 ε[ιςθαι μα Δι ου δητ εφη]
 αλλ ε[ι αδυνατον εστιν πο]
 νη[ρον οντα καλους κα]
 γ[α]θ[ο]υς φ[ι]λους κτησασθαι]
 20 εκ[ει]νο ηδ[η μελει μοι]
 [ει εκ]τιν αυτο[ν καλον κα]
 γαθ[ο]ν γενομ[ενον εξ ε]
 τοιμ[ου τοις καλ]οις [καγα]
 [θοι]ς [φιλ]ον ειπ[αι ο οίδα]
 25 εφη ο [Cω]κρατης [ο ταρατ]
 τει[ι σε ω Κρι]τοβο[υλε οτι]
 [πολλακις ανδρας και κα]
 λα [πραττοντας και των]
 αιςχ[ρων απεχομενους]
 30 ο]ρας αν[τι του φιλους ειναι]

col. iii

στασιαζον[τας α]λληλοις
 και χαλεπ[ωτερον χρ]ω
 μενους [τ]ω[ν μηδε]νους
 α]ξιων αν[θ]ρωπω[ν] και
 5 ο]ν μ[ο]νον [γ] εφη ο Κ[ρ]ιτο
 β]ουλος οι ιδ[ι]ωται τουτο
 π]οιουσιν α[λλ]α και πολεις
 α]ι των τε κ[αλω]ν μαλ . . .
 επιμελομενα[ι] και τα [αι]
 10 ε]χρη[α] ηκι[ετ]α προσιεμ[ε]
 να]ι πολλακ[ι]ς π[ο]λεμικως]

§16

§18

ε[χ]ουσι π[ρος αλληλας] α
 λ[ο]χιζομεν[ος πανυ α]θυ
 μως εχ[ω] π[ρος τ]ην των
 15 φ[ιλ]ων κτη[σιν] ουτε γαρ
 τ[ους] π[ονηρους ορ]ω φι
 λ[ου]ς αλληλ[οις δυναμεν]ους
 ε[ιν]αι· πως γ[αρ] αν η αχα
 ρ[ιστοι η αμελε]ις· η πλε
 20 ονε]κτα[ι η απις]τροι· η ακρα
 τεις α]νθρ[ωποι] δυναιν
 το] φιλοι γε[ν]εσθαι [οι με]ν
 ο[υ]ν πονη[ρο]ι πα[ντως ε
 μ]οι[γ]ε δο[κ]ουσιν [αλλ]η
 25 λ[οι]ς εχθροι [μ]αλλον η φι
 λοι πεφυκ[εν]αι· αλλ[λα μ]ην·
 ωσπερ συ λ[εγει]ς ουδ αν
 τ[οι]ς χρη[ε]τ[οι]ς οι π[ονη
 ροι] ποτε [συν]αρμ[οσει
 30 αν εις φι[λι]αν πως [γαρ
 ου]ποι

col. iv

οι τα πο[νηρα ποιουντες]
 τοις τα το[ιαυτα μισου]
 σιν [φ]ιλο[ι] γενοιντ αν ει
 δε δη κ[αι] οι αρετην ασκουν
 5 τες στασι[αζουσι τε πε
 ρι του πρω]τευειν εν ταις
 πολ[ε]σιν [και φθονουν
 τ]ες [εαυτοις μισησου (?)
 σι]ν αλλη[λους τινες ετι
 10 φιλοι εσ[ονται και εν τι
 σιν ανθ]ρωποις ευνοια
 και π[ι]ετ[ι]ς εσται αλλ εχει
 μεν εφη ο [Cω]κρατης ποι
 κιλως πω[ς ταυτα ω Κρι
 15 τοβουλε φ]υσει γαρ εχου
 σιν οι ανθρ[ωποι] τα μεν

§19

§20

§21

η αρπα
 γες αν
 θρωπ[οι]

φ[ι]λικ[α δεονται τε (?) γαρ αλ
 ληλων [και ελεουσιν και συν
 ερ[γουντες ωφελουσιν και
 20 [τουτο συνιεντες χαριν (?)
 [εχουσιν αλληλοις τα
 δε[ε π]ο[λεμικα τα τε γαρ αυ
 τα κα[λα νομιζοντες
 ὑπερ το[υτων μαχον
 25 ται και δι[χογνωμονουν
 τες εναγ[τιουνται πολε
 μικ[ον δε και ερισ και οργη
 και δε[υςμενες

col. i

6 νομιε]ι ο ακουων: νομιεις (νομιης Y) ακουων codd.; the manuscripts' redundant sigma may stem from a misreading of the article *ο*, perhaps in an ancient majuscule copy.

19 πολλ]ας: πολλὰ O.

23-4 αυ[τον with most MSS: εαυτον R.

24 δία γε ουκ A.

26 μοι om. Y.

27-8 μ]ελλοι[μεν: Heindorf's conjecture μέλλομεν is not confirmed.

29 ημ]ας αυτους: αυτους ήμας codd. (εαυτους Z).

col. ii

1 πραττειν: πράττειν εδ A.

2 εφη ο: ο om. R.

3 πον]ηρον: και πονηρον A. The lacuna is not wide enough to accommodate *και*.

7 [τε φ]αυλους with most MSS, τε om. Z; the lacuna might just be wide enough for τεφ.

13 The note to the left is in the first scribe's hand; its meaning is not clear to me.

14 οι: ή Z.

21 αυτο[ν: αυτον om. Y.

24-5 ο οιδα] εφη ο [Cω]κρατης with AB: om. rell.

27-8 και κα]λα with codd.: τα add. Cobet. The line is unlikely to have had *και τα* (21 letters), as the preceding and following lines have only 19 and 18 letters respectively.

col. iii

3 μηδε]νος: ουδενος A.

7 και πολεις: και αι π. Z.

8 των τε κ[αλω]ν: τε om. Z.

μαλ . . . : μάλιστα codd. As a reading, *μαλιστα* may not be impossible, though cramped, but that would leave a vertical trace at the line-end that suits neither -α nor the following *επ- μαλλον* would cover the full range of traces, but seems not to explain all the ink.

9 επιμελούμ- BRXY.

18-19 η αχα]ρ[ιςτοι: οι άχ. B.

20-21 η αρπα]γεσ ανθρωπ[οι]: the marginal note seems to be a variant rather than an addition.

23 ο[ν]ν: γάρ AMORZ.

πα[ντως: παντος A, παντες Z.

col. iv

6 του: το B.

8 εαυτους B, αυτοις A.

8-9 μισου] would not fill the line; the papyrus may have had *μισου|ειν* with B: *μισουειν* rell.

10-11 τι]ειν: τοις O.

14 There would not be enough space for τα τοιαυτα (A).

17 δεονται τε γαρ: τε om. AX; it is impossible to say whether the papyrus had τε.

23 καλα και ηδεα νομιζοντες codd.; with this reading, the line would be decidedly too long (23 letters); either *και* or *ηδεα* may have been accidentally omitted.

24 υπερ: υπο Z.

25-6 δι[χογνωμονουν]τες: διχογνωμοουντες MOX.

28 και δε[υςμενες: και ηδδς μεν εστιν B.

P. JAMES

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5049. LETTER TO APION

20 3B.34/B(4-5)a

12 × 17.5 cm

25 October 59
Plate VI

The first five lines preserve the end of a private letter with the customary greetings. They are followed by the date and a postscript by the same hand relating to various goods (documents of similar type include LIX 3990, P. Erl. 113 and P. Wisc. II 73, all of the 2nd century). The main interest of this piece lies in its date, which includes a new *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή*, and in the prices with corresponding measures and quantities of the goods. Unfortunately, comparison of the prices of these goods with those in other documents is hampered by the fact that (a) they are rarely attested in combination with quantities, and (b) little is known about the differences in quality of these goods; see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (1991) 354, 396, and *passim*.

The papyrus is broken off at the top, but complete on all other sides; left margin 1.6 cm, blank space of 5.5 cm below the last line. The sheet was first folded from right to left and then pressed flat, as can be seen from the offsets on the back of the letters *τοκρ* of in line 7 of the front. The address was then written along the fibres on the back of the folded letter. A *kollesis* can be seen on the front 0.3 cm from the right margin.

].οντ[] [] []
ἀσπάζεται σε [.] εω. κ[αί] Θ[α] [.] καὶ τ[ὰ] παιδ[ί]α
καὶ Ἀραπίων· τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαριε[ί] σεαυτοῦ ἐπι-
μελόμ[ε]νος.

(vac.)

ἔρω(σο)

(vac.)

(ἔτους) 5 Ν[έ]ρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Α[ὐ]τοκράτορος, Φαώφι κξ, Σεβα(στῆ).

κόμ[ι]αι παρὰ Ἡρώδου ε. [.] .ν χάλκωμα
ὄλκῆς μνῶ(ν) ἢ καὶ σκαφίον μνῶ(ν) β̄ (δραχμῶν) π.

ἔαν δὲ δύνηι ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι ἄλλο χάλκωμα
μνῶν εξ, ἔση καλῶς πεποιηκῶς καὶ τὴν

τιμὴν σοι πέμψωμεν.

κόμισαι στήμονος λευκοῦ ὄλκ(ῆς) (τεταρτῶν) γ ἀγαθ(ί)δας

ἀριθ(μῶ) ιη (δραχμῶν) ε.

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

15 Ἀπίωνι τῷ ἀδελ(φῶ)

3 1. σεαυτοῦ 5 ερω^ω 6 L 7 σεβ^τ 8 χάλκωμ^τ 9 μν^ω (bis) 1. κάφιον
9, 14 10 χάλκωμ^τ 12 1. πέμψομεν 13 ολ^ω ἀγαγα^ο 14 ἀρι^ο 15 ἀδε^α

... Greetings to you from [NN] and [NN] and the children and Sarapion. For the rest you will do us a favour by taking care of yourself.

Farewell.

Year 6 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 27, *dies Augusta*.

Take delivery from Herodes of a . . . bronze dish weighing 8 minae and a bowl weighing 2 minae worth 80 drachmae. If you can get another bronze dish weighing 6 minae, then you will have done well, and we will send you the cost.

Take delivery of 18 balls of white warp weighing 3 quarters (of a mina?) worth 5 drachmae.

(Back) To Apion, the brother.

3 σεαυτοῦ: read σεαυτοῦ; for the omission of *v*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 188.

7 The interesting point of the date is the specification of the day as a *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή*. It is generally agreed that these days celebrate the monthly recurrence of imperial events and feasts, such as the emperor's birthday or his *dies imperii*, which was celebrated on the same day every month, e.g. on 20 Phaophi, 20 Tybi etc.; see F. Blumenthal, *APF* 5 (1913) 336-45. The 27th of a month is one of the most frequently and earliest attested *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί*. For a list, see F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 197-233 (esp. 199-201 for the 27th), and *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 145-69. To the evidence collected there can now be added for the 27th:

P. Giss. Univ. III 19 v 14	Mesore	AD 55
O. Bodl. II 565.5	Neroneios Sebastos	AD 57
XLI 2960 38	Tybi	AD 100
P. Oxy. Hels. 34. 21	Tybi	AD 101
XLI 2973 35	Sebastos	AD 103

All examples of this *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή* are attested for years between AD 37 and 103, predominantly in the first half of this time-span. There is evidence for several months; our papyrus now supplies the first example for Phaophi. The 27th as a *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή* has been interpreted in different ways: as the *dies imperii* of Tiberius, or the second *dies natalis* of Augustus; for both interpretations and the relevant literature, see Snyder, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 205-8, who states that the *dies imperii* of Tiberius is controversial and not likely to have still been celebrated several generations later; see also K. Wellesley, *JRS* 57 (1967) 23-30. On the other hand, the *dies natalis* of Augustus was 23 September (= 26 Thoth) and was celebrated in Egypt on the 26th of every month. It is strange that this day is not attested at all in the papyri (for a possible exception and explanation, see Snyder, loc. cit. 227-33). The 27th of each month is the 24th in the Julian calendar. The 24th of September is attested as having been celebrated widely as the second *dies natalis* of Augustus; see Snyder, loc. cit. 207-8; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1996) 61. In AD 59, the 27th of Phaophi fell on 25 October, because that year was a leap year in the Alexandrian calendar.

8 ε. [.] .ν: the letter before *v* might be *γ*, but the traces either side of the lacuna cannot be identified. The word may have been a specification of *χάλκωμα*.

9 κάφιον (Lat. *scaphium*), 'bowl', is more likely than *σκαφεῖον*, 'mattock', because the latter is rarely mentioned with weights, whereas the former is often specified by weights and occurs only in small quantities (the highest number of *κάφια* in a papyrus is two). But *κάφια* can be quite heavy (see e.g. P. Mich. II 121 R 2 ii 8 (42), 2 *κάφια* weighing 7 minae; PSI Congr. XX 10.22 (174), one *κάφιον*

weighing 2 minae) and quite expensive (see e.g. P. Ryl. II 124 v 36 (1st cent.), 12 drachmas for one *κράφιον*). The word can mean various types of vessels (plate, dish, bowl, cup), see Preisigke, *WB* II s.v., and in general T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1913) 67–71; Drexhage, *Preise* 396–400 with further examples.

12 *πέμφωμεν*: read *πέμφομεν*. For the confusion of *ο* and *ω*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 277.

13 *στήμων* can be 'warp', or more generally 'thread'. Some prices are attested in papyri, but mostly without weights or quantities, which makes comparison difficult; the only other case where *στήμων* is mentioned with quantity and price is XXXI 2593 (2nd cent.), where 75 balls of warp weighing 90 staters cost 63 drachmas.

ἀγαθ(ῖδα): an *ἀγαθῖς* is a ball of thread, like the one that Theseus was given by Ariadne (Pherecydes, *FGHist* 3 F 148). In papyri the word is attested in PGM II 12.409 (*ἀγαθῖς ὄψεως*); cf. Hsch. a 249 *ἀγαθῖς δέσμη καὶ εἶδος ῥάμματος ἢ στήμωνος*. In documentary papyri it appears here for the first time.

M. GERHARDT

5050. RECEIPT OF MONEY FOR AN AXON

34 4B.76/J(1–4)a

6.5 × 18.5 cm

26 February 69
Plate VII

The papyrus is complete on all sides with an upper margin of 1.5 cm and a blank space of 10 cm below the last line. The text is written in a practised, upright hand, which however becomes smaller and more cursive in the last two lines. In line 9, the scribe separated *ρ*, *ο*, and *ς* of *καίσαρος* by spaces, for no obvious reason. The back is blank.

Cheirographon of Aspidas, estate manager of C. Prosius Hospes, confirming the receipt of an unspecified amount of money for an *ἄξων*. Both names are rare. Hospes may have been a veteran, or the lessor of an *ousia* (less likely a freedman), employing a manager. Aspidas apparently had left the *axon* in Sarapion's keeping; now he has sold it to him and acknowledges receipt of the purchase price.

There are a dozen references to the short reign of M. Salvius Otho in other papyri and ostraka from Egypt. Otho had been hailed emperor in Rome on 15 January. In Egypt his accession was known by 10 February at the latest (SB XII 11044 = XIV 11640; cf. SB XVI 12332).

Ἀσπιδᾶς χειριστῆς Γαίου
Πρωτίου Ὀσπιτος
[C]αραπίωνι Διογένους
χαίρειν. ἀπέχῳι παρὰ
5 οὔ τῆν τιμὴν οὐ εἰ-
χον παρὰ σοὶ ἄξωνος
καὶ οὐδὲν σοὶ ἐνκ[α]λῶι.
(ἔτους) πρώτου Μάρκου Ὀθωνος

5050. RECEIPT OF MONEY FOR AN AXON

[Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀ[ὐ]τοκράτορος,
10 Φαμενώθ β.

4 1. ἀπέχῳ 7 1. ἐγκαλῶ 8 L 9 α[ὐ]τοκράτορ: *κρατορ* is written very small, the final *ρ* just on the edge. I assume that *-κρατορ* was intended; but it is possible that *-ος* followed on fibres now lost.

Aspidas, estate-manager of C. Prosius Hospes, to Sarapion, son of Diogenes, greetings. I have received from you the money for the *axon* that I used to keep with you, and I have no claim against you. In the first year of Marcus Otho Caesar Augustus Imperator, Phamenoth 2.

1 *Ἀσπιδᾶς*: on this name, which seems to have been particularly common in the Hermopolite nome, see A. Jördens, *P. Louvre* II 110.1 n. with further references (add I. Herm. Magn. 6.144).

1–2 *Γαίου Πρωτίου Ὀσπιτος*. The *gentilicium* Prosius is a rare one: two senatorial Prosii, father and son presumably, are known from the 3rd century AD (*PIR*² P 1014–1015). The name is already attested in republican times (ILLRP 778) and some pieces of evidence (Inscr. It. 4.1.109; AE 1931, 13; AE 1993, 559; CIL IX 2282; CIL X 4306) might suggest that the Prosii were a wealthy family from the Italian municipal aristocracy, rooted perhaps in Samnium and Campania.

5–6 *οὐ εἶχον παρὰ σοὶ*: 'which I had with you'. Similar phrases, but always in the present tense, are attested in letters (XIV 1758 15–16, of unfinished business; BGU III 775.11, of clothing) and in orders for payment and delivery (X 1333, of money; P. Stras. I 71.2, of corn); *ἔχεις* is much commoner. Here the past tense presumably indicates that the arrangement is already over; Sarapion must have bought the *axon*, and Aspidas duly acknowledges receipt of the money.

6 *ἄξωνος*. The term can be applied to any kind of axle, but in most cases it seems to refer to some kind of water-lifting device: either the top-down rod of a shaduf (but against this see D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1993) 230 n. 703) or the axle of a saqiya-gear. The vertical beam of a shaduf is a valuable item even today, because it has to be very smooth and without knots in order to slide through the hands of the person operating the device. For a general survey of ancient water-lifting devices, see J. P. Oleson, 'Water-lifting', in Ö. Wikander, *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (2000) 217–302 and id., *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (1984). Cf. also Th. Schøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (1973).

A. HARTMANN

5051. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

14/46, Layer II no. 5

9 × 14.5 cm

c.81–100

The papyrus contains an order from the functionary Chairemon, whose title is not specified, to the *agoranomos* to register (*καταγράφειν*) the sale of a slave: Harthoonis alias Theon has bought a slave girl, Plousia alias Kalē Phasis, from a woman called Serapous through that woman's representative Sphinis, who happens to be a priest. The text belongs to a group of documents known only from Oxyrhynchus in the period between 77 and 100, discussed by M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 17–29. Raschke divided the texts into three groups, of which the third is relevant here. It consists of orders for the registration of mortgages and sales,

mostly of houses or land, but sometimes also of slaves or shares in them: see I 170 (= SB XIV 11700), 241, 242, 243 (= M. Chr. 182), II 327, 329*, 330*, 331 (= SB XVI 12391), 332 (= P. Bingen 62), 333*, 334*, 335* (CPJ II 423), 336 (= SB XVI 12220), 337*, 338*, 340, III 581*, XXXVIII 2856, LXXIV 4984–4985. The items starred have recently been published in full by A. Benaissa, *ZPE* 170 (2009) 157–85, with further discussion at 170–72.

Serapous and Plousia were already known from II 265 (81–95), Serapous' marriage contract, in which it is apparently stated that she is going to inherit the slave from her mother. Serapous probably recurs in II 341 desc. of c.100 (ed. *ZPE* 170 (2009) 165), a notice to the *agoranomi* concerning a cession of land. The name Kalē Phasis is here attested for the first time in the papyri. Another point of special interest is the price, which differs from the norm; see 17 n.

The papyrus is broken off at the bottom and damaged in the top right-hand corner, but complete with margins on the other three sides. The rest of line 17 has been left blank, and there is also a blank space of c.8 mm below this line; it is therefore possible that this document was left without a date and signature, unless these were added below a somewhat greater interlinear space. Written along the fibres; the back is blank.

Χαιρήμων τῷ ἀγορ[ανό(μω)]
 χαίρειν· κατάγρα(ψον) ὠνήν
 Ἄρθοῶνξει τῷ καὶ Θέωνι Ἡ-
 ρακ. [c.4] τοῦ Ἄρθοῶνιος
 5 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγ(ων) πόλεως
 τῆς ὑπαρχούσης Σεραποῦ(τι)
 Ζωίλου τοῦ Θέωνος δού-
 λης Πλουσίας τῆς καὶ Καλῆς
 Φάσεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) κγ ἡς
 10 ἐπρία(το) παρὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 συνεσταμμένου Σφίνιος
 τοῦ Ἀρσιήσιος τοῦ Σφίνιος(ς)
 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλεως
 ἱερέως Θοήριδ(ος) καὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ
 15 Καράπιδος καὶ τῶν συν-
 νάων θεῶν μεγίστων
 χαλκ(οῦ) (ταλάντων) ι (πεντακισχιλίων?)

2 καταγρ¹ 5 οξυρυγγ 6 σεραπο⁻ 9 L 10 επρι¹ 12 σφιν^ο
 13 της ᾱ 14 θοηρι^δ 17 χαλκ^κ ι Έ

'Chaeremon to the *agoranomos*, greetings. Register the sale to Harthoonis alias Theon, son of Herac— son of Harthoonis, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, of the slave Plousia alias Kalē Phasis, about 23 years of age, who belongs to Serapous, daughter of Zoilus son of Theon, (and) whom he bought from her representative Sphinis, son of Harsiesis son of Sphinis, from the same city, priest of Thoeris and Isis and Sarapis and the others who share their temple, most great gods, for 10 talents 5,000 drachmas in bronze.'

1 Χαιρήμων: a functionary of the same name appears also in I 48 (86) and II 243 (79), which likewise concern sales and manumissions of slaves; he may or may not be the same person. As usual, the title of the sender is not specified (only in XXXVIII 2856 [91/2] the rather ambiguous title ἐπιτηρητής is mentioned). For a summary of the different theories concerning the status of the senders, see J. Straus, *L'Achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine* (2004) 48–50.

τῷ ἀγορ[ανό(μω)]: space suggests that the word has been abbreviated in the same way as in, e.g., I 45 2 (96) and III 483 32 (108). As in the parallel documents referred to in the introduction, the name of the addressee is not mentioned.

2 κατάγρα(ψον) ὠνήν: this is the expression normally used in these documents. On the nature of this καταγραφή, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii (1978) 184–221, esp. 200–202, and Straus, *L'Achat et la vente des esclaves* 44–52.

3–4 Ἡρακ.[: the end of the name is obscured by a dark brown stain.

4 Ἄρθοῶνιος: names relating to the god Thōnis are common in Oxyrhynchus, where the god had a sanctuary; see LXIX 4741 3 n.

6 Σεραποῦ(τι): her name is spelled Σεραποῦς in II 265 and 341. She is listed as no. 4388 in B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C. – 96 A.D.* (1983). The name of her paternal grandfather, Theon, was not known before.

8–9 Πλουσίας τῆς καὶ Καλῆς Φάσεως: the same Plousia appears in 265, where, however, her second name is not mentioned (no. 3721 in Jones–Whitehorne, *Register*). Names of good omen ('Good News') were often given to slaves; cf. Καλημέρα in SB V 8007; other slave names of this type are listed by Straus, *L'Achat et la vente des esclaves* 257–9. However, the name Καλὴ Φάσις is here attested for the first time in the papyri, although it has previously occurred in at least three Latin inscriptions from Rome (1st–3rd century) in the form Calephasis of slaves or freed slaves; see H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch* (CIL Auct. 2: 2003).

9 ὡς (ἐτῶν) κγ: the spacing before and after this phrase may suggest that it was added later in a blank left for this detail.

10–11 τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῆς συνεσταμμένου: the expression ὁ συνεσταμένος ὑπό is rather rare outside documents addressed to the *agoranomos*; see A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 301, note to line 1. Among these documents, this is the only one where it is the seller who has a representative, not the sender of the order. As such, appointments of representatives for sales of slaves are well attested, see I 94 = M. Chr. 344 (83), P. Fam. Tebt. 27 (132), SB V 7573 (116) and P. Fay. 346 descr. (171); cf. Straus, op. cit. 22–32.

11–12 Σφίνιος: in the papyri, the name Σφίνιος seems to be previously attested only in SB I 4369b.41 (Ars.; 3rd cent. BC).

14–16 ἱερέως Θοήριδ(ος) καὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Καράπιδος καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων: a priest at the temple referred to as Θοήρειον, on which see 5057 4 n.

17 The clarifying word τιμῆς, which belongs to the standard scheme of these documents, has been omitted. The price differs from the norm in an interesting way: the price of the slave was normally recorded in both silver and bronze currency. It has been argued that the silver value was the only relevant one, while the bronze value was the constant, theoretical sum of 10 talents and 3000 drachmas inherited from the Ptolemaic period; see K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* (1996) 115–19. Here, however, the silver value has been omitted (unless it was stated after line 17, but that would not be the

normal order). Moreover, the bronze value does not seem to conform either, as the figure can hardly be read as *T* (3,000); it is almost certainly *E* (5,000). So we seem to have here, in addition to XXXVIII 2856, another document in which the price differs from the postulated standard (on I 49–59 see Maresch, *op. cit.* 94–5). Another such document, possibly a registration of a slave sale too, that does not record the value in silver is III 581 descr. of 99 (ed. *ZPE* 170 (2009) 158–9). Of course, should the absence of a silver value indicate that the bronze value was the real price and not merely a theoretical sum, it would not necessarily need to conform to that standard. A list of attested prices of slaves, some of which show considerable variation, can be found in Straus, *op. cit.* 294–300.

M. BUCHHOLZ

5052. AGREEMENT TO REPAY PART OF A LOAN

32 4B.91/E(1–2)a

11.1 × 20 cm

86/7

A sheet of papyrus broken at the top and foot, with a left margin of c.1.5 cm. The first preserved line must have been the beginning of the document; if the text ended with the date, line 34 may have been the last one, but it is more than likely that a subscription originally followed. The papyrus is written in a neat semi-cursive. On the back, written across the fibres, three lines in a different hand.

The text is a subjective homology stating the obligations of a debtor (whose name is damaged) towards a girl called Thermuthis. The girl was probably still under-age at the time: that would explain why the agreement is stipulated with her mother, together with her uncle as guardian. The persons involved do not appear in other known documents. Two different loans are mentioned: the first one, contracted with Thonis, the late father of Thermuthis, was of 80 drachmas; only a half of this sum is due to Thermuthis: the girl probably had a brother or a sister who inherited the other half of the loan. The original loan was stipulated between the debtor and Thonis by a *cheirographon* and a bank-*diagraphē*; a bank (located at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus) is mentioned also at the end of the present document. The amount of the second loan was of ten drachmas (no interest is mentioned) and was stipulated *ἀγράφως*, i.e. without any contract. In case of non-observance of the agreement, the debtor, who calls himself *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, will be subject to the usual penalties; for very similar formulas, see e.g. II 269 (57) and 304 (55). The document is *κεχιασμένον*: as usual, once the sum was recovered, the copy was cancelled and returned to the debtor. A similar situation (inheritance of a loan by the two sons of the original creditor) is attested by P. Athen. 29 (Theadelphia, 121), a receipt for the repayment.

1–2] .γικ Χαίρη[μονος c.2]χου μητρὸς
 Τα]υσίριος τῆς Ἡρακλάτος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
 χων πόλεως Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
 Θαμουνίῳ Ἀρβίχιος τοῦ καὶ Ἰέρακος τοῦ

5 Ἀ]λεξάνδρου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ὁμο-
 γ]νησίου ἀδελφοῦ Διογένους χαίρειν. ὁμο-
 λο]γῶ ἀποδώσειν τῇ θυγατρὶ σου Θερμοῦ-
 θι] Θώνιος ἐν ἔτεσι δυοὶ ἀπὸ μηνὸς
 Σεβ]αστοῦ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐβδόμου ἔτους
 10 Αὐτ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ
 νομίσματος δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα, αἵ εἰ-
 σιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ Θερμοῦθι ἡμικυ μέ-
 ρος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ὧν
 15 ὀφείλω τῷ μετηλλαχότι αὐτῆς πατρὶ
 Θεῶνι Ἡρακλάτος κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ
 διαγραφὴν τραπέζης, καὶ τόκου τούτων
 τοῦ προκειμένου χρόνου ἄλλας ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς δεκαδύο καὶ ἅς ἄλλας ὀφείλω
 20 αὐτῇ ἀγράφως ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα, ὥς-
 τ' εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἐξήκον-
 τα δύο χωρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ἀποδῶ καθ' ἃ γέγραπται ἐκτίξω [c.6 μ]ε-
 θ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκον τοῦ ὑπε[ρπεσόντος χρό-
 25 νον τὸν καθήκοντα, τῆς πρ[άξεώς σοι οὐσης
 καὶ τῇ Θερμοουθείῳ ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ [καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων μοι πάντων καθ[άπερ ἐκ δίκης·
 περὶ δὲ τῶν προκειμένων [c.8 προσ-
 πεφώνηκ[α
 30 τραπεζεῖταις [τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων
 πόλει Σεραπεῖου τραπέζης. κυρία ἢ χεῖρ παν-
 ταχῆ ἐπιφ[ερομένη καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπι-
 φέροντι. (ἔτους) [5
 σεβ[]..[

13 l. Θερμοῦθι 16 l. Θώνιαι 21 l. εἶναι 24–5 l. χρόνου 26 l. Θερμοουθίῳ
 30 l. τραπεζεῖταις 33 L

‘[?Tho]nis son of Chaeremon son of . . . , mother Tausiris daughter of Heraclas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persian of the *epigone*, to Thamunium daughter of Harbichis also called Hierax son of Alexander, with her guardian, her full brother Diogenes, greetings.

‘I acknowledge that I will give back to your daughter Thermuthis daughter of Thonis, within two years from the month Sebastos of the coming seventh year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus

Augustus Germanicus, forty silver drachmas of the imperial coinage, which are the half share which falls to Thermuthis of the eighty silver drachmas that I owe to her late father Thonis son of Heraclas, in accordance with a *cheirographon* and a bank-*diagraphē*; and, as interest on that sum for the above period, twelve silver drachmas, and also ten other silver drachmas that I owe her without a contract, so that the sum total is sixty two silver drachmas, without any delay. If I do not repay her in accordance with what is written, I will pay . . . with the addition of one half and the appropriate interest for the excess time, and you and Thermuthium are to have the right of execution upon me and all my property, as if in consequence of a lawsuit. Regarding the afore-mentioned (debts?) I have notified . . . , the bankers of the bank at the Serapeum in the city of the Oxyrhynchis. The note of hand is valid wherever produced and for whoever produces it. Year (6 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus . . .).¹

1] . . . *νις*, the right-hand side of a round letter, possibly ο or ω: Θ]ώνις would suit the space. Then either *Χαιρή[μονος τοῦ*, or possibly *Χαιρή[μονος τοῦ καί*: the name ending in -*χου* may be the debtor's grandfather, or another name of his father Chaeremon. The shorter formula would leave room for *α.4-5* letters before *χου*, the longer only for 2-3. The traces themselves are difficult, though the first, a low horizontal, might be consistent with *το]ῦ*. *ϸ]ωττηρίχου* seems too long, and the letter before *χου* does not look like iota. Possibly *το]ῦ Ἡμιόχου*, but *η* is not an obvious interpretation of the trace.

6-7 In standard loan contracts, the debtor first declares that he is receiving a sum (*δμ. ἔχων*) and then agrees to give it back (*ἀποδώσω*). This particular homology is an updating of a previous contract, i.e. the loan agreement concluded with Thermouthis' father Thonis, now dead. A good parallel is provided by P. Lond. III 1229 (145). The special circumstances explain why this homology refers entirely to the future, an unusual form; see P. Köln III 148 introd. (p. 111).

19 Since the usual annual interest was 12%, we can calculate that the agreed length of the loan was two years and six months: the original contract was then stipulated in March (*Φαμενώθ*) of the sixth year of Domitian's reign, the same year as our updating. The debtor will fulfil the agreement at the end of the eighth year of Domitian (88/9).

20 I have not found evidence that a loan stipulated *ἀγράφως* implied a close relationship between the contracting parties, but note here that the debtor's and Thermouthis's grandfathers (? , lines 2 and 16) bear the same (admittedly, common) name, Heraclas: it is possible that the debtor and Thermouthis were in fact cousins.

23 *ἐκτίξω* [*α.6* : supply probably *ταύτας*; cf. P. Ups. Frid 3.8-9.

24-5 It seems that the scribe wrote *τοῦ ὑπε[ρπεπόντος χρο]ῖνον* for *χρόνου*.

28-9 *περὶ δὲ τῶν προκειμένων [δφειλημάτων (?) προσ]πεφάνηκ[α + names of the bankers? A notification (*προσφώνησις*) of the managers of the bank at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in III 514 = W. *Chn.* 183 (184), P. Köln III 148, SB VI 9372 (both 2nd cent.), SB XXII 15738 (201/2), and XXXI 2584 (211), in the formula *ἀμολογῶ κατὰ προσφώνησιν*. There the word is normally assumed to mean 'notification' from the bankers to the client (see R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* (1994) 80-81) or from the bankers to the authorities (see P. Köln 148.2-4 n.). But in the present document, if I understand it rightly, it is the client who has notified the bankers of the supplementary homology now made.*

30-31 On the bank at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus, see the list of documents in A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 261, updated in P. Köln III 148.3-4 n., LVIII 3915 14 n., A. E. Hanson and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 48 n. 19, and R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 155-7. The names of the bankers in the years close to this document are not known.

33-4 perhaps L [*Ἐ* *Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ*
Ἐβας[το]ῦ Γε[ρμανικοῦ]?

In 34, ε almost certain, ζ and β possible; in 33 the available room may seem a bit narrow, but note that 10, which contains the same formula, is about 1.5 cm shorter than the others.

F. MALTOMINI

5053. RECEIPT FOR PIG-TAX

47 5B.45/F(1-3)b

7.2 × 7.6 cm

15 August 149

Starting as a property tax in the Ptolemaic period, the pig-tax becomes primarily a supplementary capitation tax under the heading of *μερισμός* in the Roman period (Wallace, *Taxation* 143-5; P. Col. V pp. 301-3). Whether or not the tax related to pig ownership or rearing is a moot question. P. Mich. XII 628, an application for the right to sell and pickle meat, is addressed to the 'superintendents of the pig-tax' (*ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑκῆς*), so that evidently the tax may have been somehow related to pig ownership, at least in the Fayum.

Other receipts for pig-tax from Oxyrhynchus are II 311 = SB X 10223 (23), II 288 (22-25), SB XX 14665 (30), II 313 = SB X 10242 (47), II 308 = SB X 10243 (50); II 289 (83); P. Oxy. Hels. 12 (99), XII 1520 (102), IV 733 (147), P. Köln III 138 (163-5), SB XXIV 15968 i-iii (221-3), XLIII 3107 (238). All these receipts concern other taxes too, mostly the poll-tax and dyke-tax; 5053 is the only such Oxyrhynchite receipt that refers exclusively to the pig-tax. They are often dated in the summer months, as people discharged their last payments towards the end of the fiscal year; 5053 dates from the last fortnight of the year.

The back is blank.

ιβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσο(ρή) κβ. διέγρ(αψε)
δι(ὰ) Ἰέρακ(ος) (χειριστοῦ) ὑκῆς ιβ (ἔτους) ῥύμ(ης) Γερμ()
Ἀπολ() [.] .νοδώρ(ου) δι(ὰ) Εὐδαίμον(ος) (δραχμῆν) α (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
5 (γίνονται) (δραχμῆ) α (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

1, 3 ιβς 2 μεσ^ο δεγρς 3 διερα^αχ ρυ^αγερμς 4 απο^α[.].νοδωρςδευδαμωνς
4, 5 ς^ρ, 5 / (vestigial)

'12th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 22. Apol—son of —nodorus has paid through Eudacmon, through the tax-collector Hierax, on account of pig-tax for the 12th year in the street of Germ(), 1 drachma 5 1/2 obols, total 1 dr. 5 1/2 ob.'

3 δι(ὰ) Ἰέρακ(ος) (χειριστοῦ). At Oxyrhynchus the pig-tax was collected, as here, by the *χειρισταὶ* in their capacity as assistants to the *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν* (IV 734, P. Köln III 138) or the *πράκτορες λαογραφίας* (XII 1520).

ῥύμ(ης) Γερμ(ανου)? This street is new.

4 Ἀπολλ() [.], νοδώρ(ου). Ἀπολλ(ωνίου) is one possibility. The patronymic must have been [Ζ]ηνοδώρ(ου) or [Μ]ηνοδώρ(ου), but neither can be confirmed.

(δραχμῆν) α (πεντάβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). The rate of 1 drachma 5.5 obols is also attested in IV 733 (147) and P. Köln III 138 (163–5), and may have included one obol for *προδιαγραφόμενα*, as suggested by III 574 (2nd cent.) and XII 1436 (156/7 [HGV]); see further J. Shelton, *CE* 51 (1976) 179, and Wallace, *Taxation* 328, 488–9. We find similar rates in some later receipts: SB XXIV 15968.ii (222), 1 dr. 5.5 ob. 1 ch.; 15968.iii (223), 1 dr. 4.5 ob. 2 ch.

†D. MONTSERRAT

5054. LETTER OF HELIODORUS TO DIONYSIS AND APOLLONIUS

34 4B.72/H(a)

8 × 16.5 cm

Second century
Plate VIII

This light brown papyrus is complete on all sides, but damaged in the blank space below the last line. There are some small holes, especially along the original fold lines, and faint mirror traces of letters in the margins, created when the papyrus was folded before the ink had fully dried. The writing is an upright cursive, very similar to the hand of BGU II 423 (Schubart, *PGB* 28: assigned to the 2nd century); it is of a type that was common from the late first century (see, e.g., P. Gen. I² 23: AD 70) to the early third (e.g., P. Gen. I² 1: AD 213). The scribe's rough breathing mark at the beginning of line 13 has few parallels in documentary papyri; see note ad loc.

Although the last lines remain somewhat uncertain, the general situation described in the letter seems clear. Two men, Hermaeus and Chesphibis, who have been leasing some land, have sublet it to a third man, Psenamunis. After Psenamunis apparently failed to pay the rent, Heliodorus, the owner or manager of the property, instructs his two subordinates, Dionysis and Apollonius, to collaborate with Hermaeus and his friends until they can put a lien on Psenamunis' threshing floor (where his crops will be accumulated).

Ἡλιόδωρος Διονύσι
καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω χαί(ρειν).

Ἑρμαῖος καὶ Χεσφίβις
μισθωτάμενοι τὰ

5 πρότερον Ἀ[ρ]ητίωνος ἐδάφη
μετεμίσθωσαν Ψενα-
μούνει ὃς λέγεται
περίσταθαι.

10 συνλάβετε οὖν τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον
ἕως κατεγγυήση-
ται αὐτῷ τὸν πάτον,

ὄν καὶ ἐμβλεπέτ[ω]

Ἰούλιος ὁ φ[ύ]λαξ.

15

[[. . . .]]

ἔρρω(σθε)

Back, along the fibres:

Διονύσι[ι] καὶ (design?) Ἀπολλ[ωνίωι]

2 χς

9 l. συλλάβεθε

11–12 l. κατεγγυήσητε?

13 ὄν

16 ερρ^ω

'Heliodorus to Dionysis and Apollonius, greetings. Hermaeus and Chesphibis, who leased the fields formerly owned by Aretion, sublet to Psenamunis, who is said to be avoiding (them). So collaborate with Hermaeus and his people, until you (?) take as security his threshing floor (?), which Julius the guard must also keep an eye on. Farewell.'

Back: 'To Dionysis and Apollonius.'

1 Διονύσι: there is no trace of ink to allow for Διονυσίωι; for similar examples of shortened names, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–6.

3 Χεσφίβις is attested only at XVII 2134 17 and XLVII 3333 13. In the former passage J. Quaegebeur, *Onoma* 18 (1974) 411, proposed to read Χεεφίβις, a form represented in PSI IV 282.14, 35, and SB XIV 12170 (both also from Oxyrhynchus); he calls it an 'obvious correction', but gives no palaeographic or philological argument in its favour.

5 The ἐδάφη of Aretion are not attested elsewhere.

8 περιέσταθαι, 'to circumvent, avoid, shun' (LSJ s.v. ππ); cf. M. *Chr.* 88 iv 11, 30, BGU IV 1019.8, SB V 7609.9. Psenamunis seems to have defaulted on the terms of his sublease and is therefore 'lying low' to avoid his responsibilities.

11 ἕως κατεγγυήσηται: ἄν is omitted, as often in informal language; see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (1973) §598(7), and in general L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (1925) 172–3; for ἕως introducing what are effectively final clauses see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (1932) 43–6. For this meaning of the verb ('to seize as security'), see XIV 1758 9, XXXVIII 2854 30–31, P. Amh. II 35.23, P. Ryl. II 119.13, and cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera minora* ii 649–54, 695–701. Two views of the grammar seem possible. (i) If we accept κατεγγυήσηται (middle), it should mean 'until he takes a lien on his own threshing floor' (then write αὐτῷ in 12). (ii) If we take κατεγγυήσηται as a misspelling of κατεγγυήσητε, it should mean 'until you (Dionysis and Apollonius in collaboration with Hermaeus and his people) take his threshing floor as security'. (ii) assumes a misspelling in an otherwise well-spelled letter. On the other hand, the active verb better suits the context of concerted action against a defaulter, and we have used this version in the translation. The guard Julius would presumably play a part in this; P. Vindob. Sijp. 27 likewise involves the posting of guards (φρουροί) on a man's πάτος.

12 αὐτῷ. If the reading is correct, a dative of disadvantage. But the second part of the last letter is in lacuna, and αὐτοῦ may be possible (the omicron reduced to a kink in the right-hand extension of τ).

τὸν πάτον. Relevant documents are:

(1) SB XX 15077.11 (Tebtunis, 45) . . . πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς πάτους οὓς γεωργῶ ἀρούρας, corrected by the editors to πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἐμῶν πάτων, ὧν γεωργῶ ἀρουρῶν

(2) PSI VIII 883.8 (cf 12) (CPJ III 455, Theadelphia, 137) . . . πύρινον πάτον ὧν ἐγεώργει περὶ Θε-
αδέλφειαν δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν

(3) SB XIV 11335.16 (Philadelphia, 26) . . . ἐπαφέντες τὰ ἐαυτῶν πρόβατα ἐφ' ἃ γεωργῶν ἐδάφη (κατ)εγέμεσαν ὃν ἔχω πάθον

(4) P. Vindob. Sijp. 27.9 and 21 (3rd or 4th cent.)

Parsons notes that in texts (1)–(3) *πάτος* appears as part of *ἀρουραι/ἐδάφη*, and this shows that it means something more specific than ‘area of land’ (‘Grundstück’ P. Vindob. Sijp. 27.5 n.). In (2) thieves steal six or more artabas of corn from it; in (3) invading sheep consume six artabas of barley there; in (4) it has and requires *φρουροί*. G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 258–9 suggest ‘campo coltivato’. This would suit the texts, but it takes no apparent account of the etymological connection with *πατέω* (for which see H. Frisk, *Etanox* 38 (1940) 43–6), a verb commonly used in the documents in relation to the processing of grapes, olives, dates and cereal crops. On this basis Frisk proposed to translate *πάτον* in (2) as ‘Dreschgetreide, die Dresche’; and the anonymous translator (Parsons) in CPJ III 455 as ‘threshing floor’. Either of these senses would fit well with Heliodorus’ plan: if they are to sequester Psenamunis’ resources until he pays his rent, the threshing floor, where his harvest becomes negotiable income, is the obvious focus: that is why agricultural leases and loans in kind commonly specify payment ἐφ' ἄλλω. How far the *πάτησις* was carried out by men, and how far by animals, is hard to say. XVI 2052, XXXIII 2681 12 imply human agents. In Pharaonic Egypt, at least, a normal method was to spread out the untreated grain and have it trampled by oxen (P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (2000) 524). See in general M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 168–80.

13 *ὄν*: for rough breathings in documentary papyri, see e.g. III 471 6 (2nd cent.), P. Stras. 169.5 (2nd cent.), XXXIV 2711 7 (c.270), XIV 1765 5 (3rd cent.), I 122 4, 8, 12 (3rd/4th cent.), XXXIV 2729 39, and P. Ryl. IV 624.5 (4th cent.).

For ἐμβλέπειν ‘to inspect’ (here, perhaps ‘watch over’), cf. P. Tebt. I 28.15; III.1 728.9.

15 There is an erasure in the middle of the sheet, which is probably an aborted *εpp*^ω, subsequently written below.

17 Διονῦς[ι]: no trace of the final iota, but the surface is damaged at this point. After *καὶ* a substantial space, with traces of ink that probably belong to the usual saltire pattern (5062 introd., 5063 23 n.).

C. FUHRMANN

5055. LETTER OF SARAPAMMON TO ACHILLEUS AND SEVERUS

16 2B.45/E(c)

11.9 × 13.6 cm

Second century
Plate IX

This letter is addressed to an advocate and another person, both of whom are at a place where an epistrategus held court or where his decision could be inspected. The purpose of the writer, who appears to represent other people with common interests and may have been a lawyer too, is to ask the addressees to copy on his behalf a report of a trial before the epistrategus concerning his case, vaguely referred to as ‘regarding the house of the painter’. We know that such copies could be made, since several examples survive; but it is useful to have an illustration which shows that lawyers, and no doubt others, were able to get hold of transcripts of trials and make copies of them.

The hand is a confident cursive of the second century; cf. *PGB* 26b (185),

P. Flor. I 67 (161–9), and PSI XII 1227 (188), the last two illustrated in Pap. Flor. XXX tavv. cxvi and cxvii.

The letter is written along the fibres. The address on the back is penned by the same hand that wrote the letter, but with more elegance and in slightly larger size than the rest. Its position, c.1.6 cm from the left edge as viewed from the front, as well as a series of vertical folds, indicates that the letter was packaged to be sent in the usual way, that is, it was rolled up with the right edge inside and then squashed flat.

Σαραπάμμων Ἀχιλλί καὶ Σεουήρωι
τοῖς τειμιωτάτοις χαίρειν.
πρὸ τῶν ὄλων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν
καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ παρὰ
5 τοῖς πατρώ[ο], ις θεοῖς. παρακαλῶ, κύριοί
μου, ἐπειδὴ εἶπαμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐαυτῶν
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου χάριν τῆς οἰκίας
τοῦ ζωγράφου ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ τοῦ Φαῶφι
10 τοῦ ὄντος β (ἔτους) καὶ οὐ κατέφθημεν
λαβεῖν τὸ ὑπόμνημα, δαίωμα ὑμῶν
ἀναγκαίως ἐγλαβεῖν μοι αὐτό. ἐς-
τιν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα Ζωῖς Ζωίλου
καὶ Θαῆσις Ζηναρίου καὶ Τιβέριος Κλαύ-
15 διος c.10].[c.3].[.]. [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

15 Ἀχιλλί ῥήτορι καὶ Σεουήρω[ι - - -

1, 15 1. Ἀχιλλεῖ 2 1. τιμιωτάτοις 9 L 10 ὑπομνημα 1. δέομαι ὕμων
11 1. ἐκλαβεῖν ες: ε corr. from ν?

‘Sarapammon to Achilleus and Severus, the most honoured, greetings. Before all I pray for your health, and I make your obeisance before the ancestral gods. Please, my lords, since we stated our case before the epistrategus regarding the house of the painter on the 14th of Phaophi of the current 2nd(?) year, and we did not have enough time(?) to get the minutes (of the hearing), I beg you without fail to excerpt them for me. The names are: Zois daughter of Zoilus and Thaeis daughter of Zenarium and Tiberius Claudius . . .’

Back: ‘To Achilleus, advocate, and Severus . . .’

2 τοῖς τειμιωτάτοις. See H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (1956) 100–103.

3 εε. The writer forgot that he is addressing two people, probably because of the highly formulaic character of the expression.

4–5 τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς πατρώ[ο], ις θεοῖς. When the *προσκύνημα* is made

before the ancestral gods, the sender is thought to have written from home to a recipient away from it; see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 193, and LIX 3993 4–5 n. (a more qualified view).

5 πατρώ[ο]. *ic.* To the right of the break there is an upright, easy to interpret as iota; if so, read πατρώ[ο]ι{c}.

παρακαλώ. It is followed by the synonym δαίρομαι in 10, which functions as the verb of the main clause, while παρακαλώ is used for emphasis and is reduced to a mot grammatical, 'please'; see H. A. Steen, *C&M* 1 (1938) 133, 150.

5–6 κύριοί μου. The vocative frequently occurs at points where transitions occur, in this case from the opening of the main body of the letter; see J. L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* (1972) 29 ff.

6 εἴπαμεν. The letter refers to a hearing (διάγνωση) held before the epistrategus; see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* (1982) 129 ff. The first person plural may refer to the presence and involvement of the same lawyer(s?) at the hearing, but it is more likely that Sarapammon also represents other people involved in this case (cf. εαυτῶν in 6, and οὐ κατέφθην in 9), who could be those mentioned in 12 ff. Two of the names are of women, who would act through a representative.

εαυτῶν is used instead of ἡμῶν. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 170–71.

7 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου. Our letter does not provide any evidence for the location of the base or temporary residence of the epistrategus. See the discussion in Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* 57–64.

τῆς οἰκίας. This probably implies a case involving disputed property, and such cases were often referred to the authority of the epistrategus; see Thomas, *ibid.* 143–56.

8 τοῦ ζωγράφου. The owner(?) of the house is denoted only by his profession. Additional information would have been superfluous, if the recipient of this letter had been the advocate of its sender at the court of the epistrategus. Alternatively, τοῦ ζωγράφου may be the name by which the house is known in the community, perhaps because of a past owner. For painters and painting in the papyri, see P. Horak pp. 43–6.

ἐπὶ τῆς 18 τοῦ Φαῶφι. Phaophi 14 = October 11/12. There are not many examples of the construction ἐπὶ + genitive to express date: cf. I 89 5–6 (140), II 237 vii 36–7 (186), XLVI 3292 13–14 (259–64). For the dates of the epistrategus' judicial activity, see Thomas *op. cit.* 63–4.

9 β. The ink is quite clear, and I interpret it as β rather than κ. In 10, 11 and 13 beta takes a more formal capital shape; but the cursive form here, with open top and nipped-in waist, is characteristic for the numeral.

κατέφθην. καταφθάνω + infinitive has otherwise occurred only in BGU II 665.ii.14, while in XXXI 2593 13 it construes with εἰς + articular infinitive. Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 1, translates 'zuvor etwas tun' (the rendering in LSJ s.v. 1 reflects the definition in *WB* but is somewhat confusing). Professor Thomas compares LSJ s.v. φθάνω III 3, 'to be in time to', said to be 'more frequent' in later writers, of actions which one manages to do, does before or has done first or already'. 'We were not in time to obtain . . .?' or simply 'We have not yet obtained . . .?'

10 τὸ ὑπόμνημα. The word has several technical meanings, but here, since it appears to be a document relating to a hearing before an epistrategus, it must mean 'record (copy of) of court proceedings' (*WB* s.v. 2d). The requested document would include the epistrategus' official decision (κρίσις; see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (1966) 49–52, and *WB* s.v. ὑπόμνημα 2c), which could be further used for the benefit of the party favoured by it. Compare LIX 4003 33 ff. (rv/v), where the recipient of the letter is informed that the records of proceedings held before the Augustalis are sent to him as requested, because they will be needed in Pelusium.

δαίρομαι, I. δέομαι. Cf. 5 n. This verb is often used in petitions and private letters to add politeness to a request or order; see Steen, *loc. cit.* 131–2.

11 ἀναγκαίως. On this adverb, used to imply immediate execution of a request/order, see Steen, *loc. cit.* 153–4.

ἐγλαβεῖν, I. ἐκ-. On κ > γ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 175. For the procedure cf. XLIII 3138 3 (iii; see BL X 151), where the *orthographus* Anicetus is paid ὑ(πέρ) ἐκγλήψεως ὑπομνήματος.

μοι. On the use of the dative of advantage in private letters, see Steen, *loc. cit.* 125–6.

12 τὰ ὀνόματα. The names are quoted so that Achilleus and Severus would copy the proper extract from the court proceedings before the epistrategus. They no doubt all belong to people involved in the dispute. They could be the names of Sarapammon's party alone, or those of their opponents, or of both groups, and even the name of the painter (cf. 8 n.) may have been included.

13 Θαῆσις Ζηναρίου. Ζηναρίον, the neuter of the male Ζηναρίων, is a female name. It is attested in II 243 8, 10 (79), II 286 2–3, 16 (82), XLI 2957 3 (91), P. Oslo II 52.1 (ii), P. Thomas 12.6, 17 (after 167/8), and P. Lugd.-Bat. XXX 3.39, 103 (i/ii). All but the last document, which is of unknown provenance, are Oxyrhynchite.

Since only the mother's name is given, Thaisis could have been ἀπάτωρ.

15 ῥήτορι. On ῥήτορες, see J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (1995) 58–113; also R. Taubenschlag, *Opera mimosa* ii 159–65, and *Law* 507–8.

R. HATZILAMBROU

5056–5057. DINNER INVITATIONS

The following two texts belong to a well-known group of documents, discussed by D. Montserrat in LXVI 4539–4543 *introd.*; see also his list in *JEA* 78 (1992) 302 n. 2.

These texts are invitations either to religious or to private occasions. While the first invitation seems to be of an entirely religious nature, the occasion of the second is a wedding. In both cases the host is a woman.

5056. INVITATION TO AN ISIS FESTIVAL

Box 13/174 Layer E1

6.4 × 2.7 cm

Second/third century

The papyrus is complete on three sides but broken off on the right. The handwriting runs with the fibres; the back is blank. This is only the third invitation to an Isis festival known so far, the other two being P. Fouad 76 and LXVI 4539. The major Isis festivals were usually designated by name; see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* i 530–32. Here, the very general term *ιέρωμα* gives no indication as to which festival is meant.

The handwriting, like that of most of the other invitations, is of a type of cursive that was common in the late second or early third century.

ἐρωτᾶ σε Ἀλεξάνδρα δεῖπ[νῆσαι
εἰς ἰέρωμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσίῳ [
ἀπὸ ὧρ(α)ς θ[—].

2 ἰε 1. Ἰσειῳ 3 φ

'Alexandra asks you to dine on the occasion of an offering, in the Iseion, from the 9th hour onwards.'

¹ ἐρωτᾶ: from the 3rd century, καλεῖ begins to replace ἐρωτᾶ, cf. XVII 2147; LXVI 4543; XII 1484-7 introd.

² ἐν τῷ Ἰσίῳ: if the meal took place in a temple, as here in the sanctuary of Isis, a special banquet-room in or near the temple may have been used, referred to as οἶκος in XIV 1755 2, SB XX 14503.5 and P. Coll. Youtie I 52.2; see D. Montserrat, *JEA* 78 (1992) 304 with n. 19. The majority of invitations refer to a meal in the Serapeum in honour of the god Sarapis (for a list of these, see M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (1985) 125-7; PSI XV 1543 introd.).

³ ἀπὸ ὧρα(ς) θ: as the day is not given, the invitation may have been for the very day on which it was delivered. The 9th hour was in the early afternoon.

R. KRITZER

5057. INVITATIONS TO A WEDDING

Box 16/174 Layer -1

8.4 × 4.8 cm

Second/third century
Plate II

The small sheet of papyrus is complete on three sides but broken on the left. It preserves two identical texts. Although the left-hand half of the first text is lost, it can be restored from the second. The hands are very similar, though probably not identical; they belong to a type of cursive that is very common in the late second/early third century. Written along the fibres; the back is blank.

The fact that two invitations to the same occasion and issued by the same person are preserved side by side on the same sheet suggests that it was designed to be cut in the middle in order to be delivered to two different persons (a similar practice was used in LXV 4486, two orders for arrest, but the editor supposes they were intentionally kept together). Further examples of wedding invitations from Oxyrhynchus are I 111 (3rd cent.), 181 descr. = SB XXII 15358 (3rd cent.), III 524 (2nd cent.), VI 927 (3rd cent.), XII 1486-7 (4th cent.) and XXXIII 2678 (3rd cent.).

col. i

ἐρωτᾶ] ᾗ σε Ἡραῖς
δειπνήσαι] εἰς γάμους
τοῦ υἱοῦ] αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ
μεγάλῳ] Θοηρείῳ αὐ-
ριον ἧ] τ[ε] ἐστὶν
κς ἀπὸ ὧ] ρας θ⁻.

i 4 l. Θοηρείῳ

'Herais asks you to dine on the occasion of the wedding of her son, in the Great Thoëreum, tomorrow, which is the 26th, from the 9th hour on.'

col. ii

ἐρωτᾶ σε Ἡραῖς
δειπνήσαι εἰς γάμους
τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ
μεγάλῳ Θοηρείῳ αὐρι-
ον ἧτις ἐστὶν κς ἀπὸ
ὧρας θ⁻.

col. ii

¹ Ἡραῖς. The host of I 111 is also a Herais, but she is inviting guests to the wedding of 'her children' (τέκνων αὐτῆς) in her own private house on a 5th.

⁴ μέγαν Θοηρείῳ: there were at least three *Thoeria* at Oxyrhynchus; in the main temple, Sarapis and Isis were honoured as well. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, ANRW II 18.5 (1995) 3080-82. In P. Köln I 57 (3rd century) the god Sarapis himself invites to a dinner in the temple of Thoeris, and in XII 1484 (2nd/3rd cent.) the coming of age of a boy is the occasion of a meal held there.

R. KRITZER

5058. SALE AND CESSION OF A VINEYARD AND OTHER PROPERTY

44 5B.62/C(7-8)b + (9-10)b2

fr. 1 8 × 10.1 cm

257/8

fr. 2 12.3 × 29.3 cm

Two fragments written along the fibres, blank on the back. The regnal date clause as restored (37-9) suggests that each line (apart from 40-43) averages 90-100 letters, which would correspond to a column-width of c.25 cm. About 60 letters have been lost at the beginning of lines 1-12 and 31-9; the line-beginnings are preserved in 13-30. At least one line is lost at the top (only a single trace survives).

The document is a contract of sale and cession of three plots of land from at least two different cleruchic allotments, around one or more villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, which may have been located in the middle toparchy. Three sets of boundaries are recorded, from which we can deduce that three parcels of land are being transferred. We can assume that the boundaries are given in the normal order: νότου, βορρᾶ, ἀπηλιώτου, λιβός. (A) begins in line 6; this can be deduced with certainty to be a vineyard with appurtenances. Line 9 adds an adjacent plot of 8 5/8 arouras of grainland, all part of this same parcel. The boundaries start in line 10 and end in 12; the western one is divided into a southern and a northern part. (B) begins in line 12 and consists of one aroura only plus other items, one possibly a wheel. The boundaries start in line 13 and end in 15. (C) is more complicated. It begins in line 15 and the boundaries are given in 16 to 18. It consists of two plots, one of 2 arouras, the size of the other and the total unknown; only the second of these is in the *kleros* of N.N. and Theodorus. The western boundary is subdivided into a northern and a southern section. See further 15-16 n.

The description of the lands being transferred and their boundaries ends with ἰδιωτική in 18. An enigmatic clause comes next (18-21), discussed in the note. The price paid follows, which from the subscription we learn was 2,500+ drachmas. Thereafter the various clauses can be paralleled in similar documents. The best parallels are XXXIV 2723 (iii), LI 3638 (220) P. Gen. II 116 (247), XII 1475 (267), XLIX 3498 (274), and IX 1208 6-28 (291).

- 80] . I
 85] Ψάμμδος τοῦ . . . [. . .] ἴωνος Θέων[ος
 90] Φιλαντίων Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁμοίως
 95] ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν(ν)
 100 ὑπα]ρχόντων κοινῶν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὴν κληρονόμους
 105 τῆς μέσ]ης τοπαρχίας τ[ο]ῦ Ὀξύρυγγεῖτου νομοῦ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Ὁρου
 καὶ] τῆς προσούτης καλαμείας καὶ τροχοῦ ἐπικεχωσμένου
 110] . ων καὶ τῶν ἐν πάσι καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ φουείκων καὶ ἐλαιῶν(ν)
 115] . του κτήματος σειτικῶν ἀρουρῶν ὀκτώ ἡμίους καὶ ὄγδου
 120] κώμας καὶ οἰκόπεδα κληρονόμων Σεύθου, βορρά, δη-
 125] . δηλουμένη ἀρούρη μία, λιβὸς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου με . . .
 130] / τὸ πρὶν ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμικυ ἀρούρης μίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ
 135] . ου κοιλώματα καὶ χρηστήρια τῆς ἀμπέλου, βορρά, Ηρακλεί-
 140] . ς γυμνασιάρχισαντος καὶ ἄλλων, λιβὸς τὸ προκείμενον(ν)
 145] καὶ Θεοδώρου κλήρων ἀρουρῶν δύο ἧ ὅσαι ξῆν ὡς τῶν
 150] . ου κληρονόμων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίου
 155] . . καὶ ἄλλων ἰδιωτικῆ, ἀπηλιώτου Ἀμμωνίου οὐετρανοῦ
 160] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου ἰδιωτικῆ, ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων τῶν προ-
 165] ἐμαντ[. . .] . ς τῶν προκειμένων γειτνιῶν
 170] . . το εἶναι σοῦ τῆς παραχωρομ[ε]νῆς κατὰ τὸ μ . . . πωλοῦ-
 175] ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 180 καὶ τῶν συνωμ[ο]σμένων αὐτοῖς πάντων ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσ-
 185] ἀπέσ[ο]ν παρὰ σοῦ δι[ὰ] τοῦ Ἀύρηλιου Ἀρβάνιος τοῦ καὶ Ὁρίωνος
 190] . τω τὸν αὐτὸ(ν) πατέρα σου τῆς ὠνομένης ἔχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 195] . . τῶν δηλουμένων ὑπαρχόντων πάντων κατ' ἔτος
 200] ἔγγονος καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταληψιμόμενος καὶ ἡλι-
 205] αὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐὰν αἰρή ἀνεμποδίστως

- 210 ὅπερ καὶ ἐπάναγκον παρεξέ]ομαι σοὶ βέβαιον διὰ πάντων ἀπὸ πάντων πάση βεβαι]ώσει καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ τε γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς
 215 γῆς [καὶ παν]τὸς εἶδου[ς]
 220 λ[οιμῶν δη]μοσίω[ν] καὶ ἐπικλασιμῶν καὶ ἐπιμερισμῶν παντοίων τῶν ἔως τοῦ δ]ιελθόντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διελθόντος δ (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνε-
 225 στῶτος ε (ἔτους) πρόσφορα εἶναι σοὶ τῆς παραχωρομένης εἰς τὸν ἀπαντ]α χρόνον πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε (ἔτους)
 230] . . ἀμπέλου, μηδεμίας μοι μηδ' ἄλλω ὑπὲρ ἔμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 235 ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐφόδου καταλιπομένης, πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' οὐδνητοτοῦν τρόπον ἐπ]ελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμπονησόμενον τοῦτου χάριν ἢ μέρος
 240 αὐτοῦ ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήσας παραχρήμα ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ δαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δ]ικης. κυρία ἢ παραχώρησις διςσῆ γραφεῖσα ἦνπερ ὀπηρῖκα
 245 ἐὰν αἰρή δημοσιώσῃς διὰ τοῦ καταλογίου οὐ προσδεομένη μεταλήψιμωσ οὐδὲ ε]τερ[. . .] . εὐδοκήσῃς διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκεῖν με
 250 τῇ ἐσομένη δημοσιώσει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς γενέσθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀύρηλιου Ἀρβάνιος τοῦ καὶ
 255 Ὁρίωνος ἀμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ε Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Αικιν[ί]ου Ουαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Αικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ
 260 Γαλληνοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου Αικινίου Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
 265 Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν ποτῆ, ἀσφ.]
 270 (π.2) ε.25]ς πέπρακα καὶ παρεχώ-
 275 ρησα τὸ ἡμικυ μέρος τῶν ἀρουρῶν η] καὶ τῶν συνωμασιμέ-
 280 νων πάντων καὶ ἀπέσχον τὰς τῆς τιμῆς δρ]αχμὰς διςχιλίας πεντα-
 285 κοσίας καὶ βεβαίωσας ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπε]ρωτηθεῖς ἀμολόγησα.

3 I. Φιλαντίων? 4 νῦ 6 I. Ὀξύρυγγεῖτου 8 I. φοινίκων ελαῖω 9 I. σιτικῶν 14 προκείμενο 17, 18 ἰδιωτικῆ 19 ὑπαρχον-
 των 20 ὑποστέλλον 21 ὑπέμου ὑπερ 24 I. προφέρεται 25 ὑπαρχωντων 29 ὑπερ 30, 31 L 31 ὃν: I. ἦν 32 μηδ' ὑπερ

... Psammis ... son of Theon ... Philantinous son of Ptolemaeus alias Alexander likewise from(?) ... I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you henceforth ... (the half share) of property held in common with the heirs in succession ... of the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome: from the allotment of Horus ... and the adjacent reed-bed and a buried wheel ... palm trees and olive trees in all these and around them ... of the said(?) plantation eight and five-eighths arouras of grainland ... (of which the boundaries are: on the south in(?) ...) villages and buildings belonging to the heirs of Seuthes, on the north ... (on the east ...) the single aroura mentioned below(?), on the south-west (... and on the north-west ... ; and ...) one aroura formerly taxed at one and a half artabas and the wheel(?) and ... in it ... (of which the boundaries are: on the south) natural depressions and appurtenances of the vineyard, on the north property of Heraclides alias Diogenes, former(?) gymnasiarch ... (on the east property of ...) former gymnasiarch and of others, on the west the aforesaid vine plantation; and from (the allotment of ... x arouras, and from the allotments of ...) and Theodorus two arouras or as many as there may be, the whole totalling x+ arouras; (of which the boundaries are: on the south) property of the heirs of Apollonius alias Claudianus and however he was styled, (on the north ...) and of others, private land, on the east property of Ammonius, veteran and however he is styled, (on the north-west ...) and on the south-west private land; and in respect of all the aforesaid property ... myself ... the aforesaid neighbouring areas, the ... not falling within (the conveyance?) ... since(?)) this(?) belongs to you to whom the land is ceded according to the part(?) being sold to you by me ... The two thousand five hundred ... drachmas of money of the imperial coinage agreed between us in respect of the price and cession-fee for the same half share of the aforesaid arouras and ... and all the things named along with them ... I have received from you through Aurelius Harthonis alias Horion, which he declares ... on condition that(?) the said father of you the purchaser has from henceforth for the period of his lifetime ... all the yearly revenues of all the property mentioned after (deduction of) the public taxes ... together with your descendants and successors, and when you have come of age (and) after your father's death(?) ... the power to use and dispose of it as you choose without impediment; and I shall necessarily deliver it to you guaranteed in perpetuity from all claims with every guarantee and free from liability for the cultivation of royal and domain land and every impost ... and from any other obligation whatsoever and from the public taxes and extraordinary imposts and compulsory cultivation of any kind up to and including the past year 4, because the revenues from the current year 5 belong to you to whom the land is ceded for all time; and you will be responsible for the public taxes and ... from the said current year 5 ... of the vineyard, no right to make claim on this or any part of this being left to me or to any other on my behalf. Anyone who in any way whatsoever takes legal action or makes any claim in respect of this or part of it I shall of necessity oppose straightway at my own expense as if as a result of a lawsuit. The cession written in two copies is authoritative and you may publicly register it whenever you choose through the record office without the necessity of my further concurrence or consent because I hereby give my consent to the future public registration. To your question put through the same Aurelius Harthonis alias Horion whether this has been done rightly and properly I assented.

'Year 5 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius nobilissimus Caesar Augusti (month, day).'

(2nd hand) 'I, ... , have sold and ceded the half share of the x arouras and all the things named along with them and I received the two thousand five hundred ... drachmas being the price and I shall guarantee them as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I assented.'

1 Only the tail of a long descender survives. This could well be the first line of the original document, in which case it presumably contained the name and description of the seller.

2] Ψάμμιδος τοῦ ... [...] ἰώνος Θεών[ος. One expects τοῦ καί followed by Ὠρίωνος, Ἀπίωνος or possibly Καρπίωνος, but it does not seem possible to read καί after τοῦ.

3 Φιλαντίνον Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. It is difficult to explain the accusative in the context of a prescript, where nominatives, genitives, and datives are expected. It is also unclear what part this man plays in the contract. ὁμοίως may indicate that he comes from the same place as someone previously mentioned; cf. e.g. P. Fam. Tebt. 53B.4 (208-19) ὁμοίως Ἀντινοέως.

4 πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι. On the use of this formula in the third century, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 181.

5 At the beginning of the line, we expect εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα / ἀεὶ χρόνον, κοινῶν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὴν κληρονόμους. The three plots of vineland that are sold were apparently held in *communio pro indiviso*, that is, they were joint property physically undivided; see O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 46-9, and Taubenschlag, *Law*² 242.

6 The name of the village has been lost in the break.

Ὠρου. κλήρου will have followed in 7. This *kleros* is new.

7 τῆς προσούσης καλαμείας. For the cultivation of reeds in connection with vineyards, see K. Ruffing, *Weinbau im römischen Ägypten* (1999) 54-70. They were used to construct trellises, on which vines are trained.

τροχοῦ ἐπικεχωσμένου. Cf. P. Theon. 25.4-7 (160) [εἰς μ]εθοὺς ἐκκαφῆς τροχοῦ. [...] κονώσιος κεχωσμένου (with H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 168-9 = *Scriptumculae* ii 932-3); XII 1475 16-17 (267) *σειτικὰς κ[α]ὶ ἐτέρας ἀρούρας ἑνδεκα, ἐν αἷς λάκκος συνερευκῶς καὶ ὁ τροχὸς ὁμοίως συνερευκῶς ἐκ μέρου(ς)ς*; and the *λάκκος κεχωσμένως* (l. -ος) in P. Clair. Goodsp. 15.9 (Herm.; 362), P. Stras. VI 555.12 (Herm.; 289) and 556.8 (Herm.; after 289). The presence of a water-wheel, even buried, would suggest that the vineyard, as often, was on high ground, and therefore dependent on artificial irrigation. For the *τροχός*, see J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (1984) 126ff.

8 καὶ τῶν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ φοιπέικων καὶ ἐλαιῶ(ν). It was common to plant in vineyards various kinds of trees, mostly palm-trees, olive-trees and fig-trees; see Ruffing, *Weinbau* 75-86.

σειτικῶν (l. ci-). This would suggest that an adjacent piece of grainland is sold with the vineyard. It is just possible that this piece was formerly part-vineyard (*χερράμπελος*) and is now under cultivation of grain; cf. the term *γῆ ἀμπελιτικῆς σειτικῆς*, attested e.g. in PSI XIV 1407.7 (Tebt.; 189; see BL VIII 411) and P. Bodl. 125.4 (Ars. ?; 11).

9] . του: τοῦ α]ύτου?

ὀκτώ ἡμίσεις ὀγδόου. Further fractions may have continued in the next line.

10] κώμαις. This is presumably part of the southern boundary. The plural suggests that more than one village was mentioned in 6.

κληρονόμων Σεύθου. The name is not very common, but no identification is possible. It could be that this was an ancestor of the persons discussed in LXXI 4829 7-8 n.

δη[...] δη[λουμένη is unlikely. Most probably δη[μοσία, but a personal name, e.g. Δη[μητρίου, cannot be ruled out.

11 A possible reading is ἡ ἐξ]ῆς δηλουμένη. This makes very good sense, as it would refer to the single aroura of parcel (B) occurring in the next line and which we know formed the western boundary of parcel (A): see introd. above.

με ... The writer may have tried to cram all of *μέρου* into this line, and it may be possible to read *μέρου* and a superscript sigma.

12]// τὸ πρὶν ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμίαν ἀρούρης μιᾶς. The double oblique lines often follow a year figure. Here a piece of private land may be described, whose category is given by means of a tax rate that has changed. Thus the double oblique could follow either the year of the tax change or a numeral related to the current tax category of the land. ἀρτάβην could easily be understood after ἡμίαν, since

it was probably mentioned before and thus not repeated. I am not aware of a similar clause in other sales of land. The tax rate of 1½ artabas per aroura may imply that the land was formerly vineland; see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 41–2, 54.

13 The second letter has a long descender; τροχοῦ. [might fit the traces. Later] ου: the trace is insufficient to confirm or reject νό]του.

κοιλώματα. These may have been 'series of small natural pits or depressions too water-logged' to allow limited or any agriculture use (P. Harris II 224.12 n.); see also D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1993) 18–20.

13–14 Ηρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Διογένους γυμν[ασιάρχου or γυμν[ασιάρχου. Perhaps the same man as Heraclides alias Diogenes, eirenarch, in XXIII 2343 = SB XVIII 13932 of 287. Possibly a descendant of Heraclides alias Diogenes, son of Diogenes, ex-gymnasiarch, attested in III 501 of 186 (see BL XII 135).

15 ἀμπελικὸν κτήμα. On the term, see H. Cadell, *JJP* 19 (1983) 125.

ἐκ δὲ τῶν name] καὶ Θεοδώρου κλήρων. This *kleros* is apparently new, though several *kleroi* are associated with one Theodorus. A *kleros* of Theodorus is known from P. Oxy. Hels. 22.4, 15 (π/π) near Sko in the Upper toparchy, while the same cleruchic land may be attested in XXXVI 2776 12–13 (118/19) and XVII 2137 16–17 (226) under the name of Θεοδώρου καὶ Αἰλαίου. The word κλήρος is supplied after Θεοδώρου in the Oxyrhynchite account P. Hib. I 118.1.3 of c.250 BC (= no. 1253 in the list Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens*), and in PSI IX 1070.14–15 (Mermertha, in the upper toparchy; 260–62, after BL VII 239) Θεοδώρου ἐν [. See also P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 182–3.

ἡ ὄσαι ἐὰν ὄσαι. See H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden* (1966) 53 ff.

15–16 τῶν δὲ ὄλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. This expression implies that Parcel (C) consisted of two plots, the second being of c.2 arouras. So, what we want is something like ἐκ [μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου ἀρουρῶν δύο ἐκ δὲ τῶν NN] καὶ Θεοδώρου κλήρων.

16 κληρονόμων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ. An Aurelius Apollonius alias Claudianus, prytanis, ex-gymnasiarch, and eirenarch, is attested in I 80 1–7 of 238–44. The gymnasium of this name in XLIII 3135 2–3 of 273/4 may have been a descendant.

18–22 With *ιδιωτικὴ* in 18 the description of the properties being transferred comes to an end. What follows, before the reference to the price in 22, seems to be without any close parallel. The only partial parallels noted are all third-century Oxyrhynchite transfers of property: XXXIV 2723 13–16, PSI XII 1255.9–11 and P. Coll. Youtie I 65 = XLVII 3365 71–4. The first two texts are very fragmentarily preserved. In 2723 the editor reads καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ὑπ. εἶναι ἐαυτῆ (name of vendor) ἐπὶ τῆς εἰμι[c.10] . . . ἀσομ. [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] κα[ταγραφῆ: ἐὰν δὲ, [] ὑπολελι[μ]μ[ε]νον καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι [τ]οῦ ἀνοουμένου [c.33] . . τῶν προκειμ[έν]ων space καὶ καταγραφῆς ἀρουρῶν ἐνδε[κα κτλ. The note to line 13 reads 'ὑπ. εἶναι: the same formula in PSI 1255.10–11 ἄλλο ὑ[.] κεναι ἐαυτοῖς [ε]κ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου τὸ μὴ ὑποστέλλον τῆ εἰς αὐτὸν κα[ταγραφῆ]. We cannot read ὑπολελοιπέναι. In 13–14 e.g. προκειμ[έν]ης] γιὰς ὃ μ[ὴ ὑπ]ο[στέλλει (though the first π is curiously narrow). 3365 is complete, but does not seem to be at all close in wording to 5058: ἐπὶ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ προκειμένου ἀρουρηδοῦ . . . οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπέλεψεν (ἐ)αυτῶ ὃ ἀποδόμενος (name) σιτικὰς ἢ τροχοῦς ἢ οἰκόπεδα καὶ ἄλλα τι ἀπλῶς . . . ὃ μὴ ἐμπίπτει τῆδε τῆ καταγραφῆ. ὃ δ' ἂν φανῆ ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τουτων (l. τοῦτο) συνεκπεσεῖτε (l. -ται) τῆδε (τῆ) καταγραφῆ. This indicates that this clause is intended to strengthen the claim of the purchaser to the title of the properties and it is probable that this was also the force of the clause in 5058.

19] . . . ἐμαυτ[. The passages quoted above might suggest -ε]ναι ἐμαυτ[ῶ, but though nu is possible, the rest cannot be read. Perhaps ὑπέλ]εμ[ε]ρα, with οὐδὲν/μηδὲν ἕτερον to precede; cf. 3365 72.

20 PSI 1255 (see above) suggests we should supply τ[ῆ] . . . καταγραφῆ, and the noun also occurs in the other two texts referred to. But it should be noted that in all of them the word used for the transfer of the properties is not πεπρακέναι but καταγεγραφέναι.

] . . το εἶναι. 2723 14 suggests τοῦτο; the traces are too damaged to confirm or refute this.

μ. . . μὲν and μέρος have both been considered, but neither is an easy reading.

20–21 It is strange that we have first παραχωρουμένης and then immediately παλούμενον.

21–2 Restored after the formula in several third-century Oxyrhynchite sales, e.g. LI 3638 12–15.

23 δι[ἀ] τοῦ Ἀύρηλιου Ἀρθώνιος τοῦ καὶ Ὠρίωνος. The use of the article proves that Harthonis has been mentioned earlier, no doubt in the prescript. His relationship, if any, to the purchaser is unknown; we should expect him to have been her father (see 24), but if so it is odd that this is not stated explicitly here.

24–6 This clause no doubt refers to the 'gift' by the purchaser's father of the price of the land, such as is attested elsewhere, e.g. 3638 16–17 ἄς καὶ προφέρῃ (sc. the father) ἐντεῦθεν ἀποχαρίζεσθαι τῆ αὐτῆ θυγατρὶ σου κατὰ χάριν ἀναφαίρετον, IX 1208 16–17 (with BL I 333) ἀποχαρίζεσθαι σοι ὡς προ{c}φέρῃ (sc. the son) κατὰ [χ]άριν ἀναφέρετον (l. -φαίρετον) καὶ ἀμ[ε]τανό]ητον. 2723 18–19 is undoubtedly similar, as the editor recognized, although it is only fragmentarily preserved. The note there clearly sets out the legal position. 5058 differs from all these texts in that there would appear to be two stages by which the daughter acquires ownership: the first concerns the revenues (πρόσοδοι) and the second full ownership. We are grateful to Dr Antti Arjava for advice on the legal problems. He comments as follows:

We cannot know exactly how far these people were familiar with Roman law, and if they were able (or willing) to follow it in all respects. However, in this case I would start from the assumption that they at least attempted it.

In classical Roman law, if the father donated property to his children who were *in potestate*, the gift was not valid during his lifetime. But if he confirmed the donation in his will, the child could keep it. This was the situation in the Severan period. By the reign of Valerian and Gallienus the law had been changed so that the child became automatically the owner after the father's death, unless he had explicitly recalled the gift in his will: see Epit. Greg. Vis.3.8.2 (in FIRA II 661); CJ 3.29.2; Fragm. Vat. 274; 277; 281.

The most relevant parallels are 3638 (220), 2723 (not much after 212), and 1208 (291). The two earlier ones are the closest to each other. My feeling is that this way of recording the father's gift is non-Roman. The father gave the money, the property was registered in the name of the underage child, and after the majority (presumably 14 years) he or she had full control—no word is wasted on the question of paternal power, which may not yet have bothered them much at this time (around 220).

In 5058, time has lapsed, and paternal power is now a reality which has to be reckoned with. The scribe mostly preserves the old phrases (donation, 'ownership' of the girl and full control after majority), but he adds the important detail of paternal power, which shall last until the father's death. Of course, the two conditions, majority and father's demise, were unlikely to occur at the same time. I assume that both conditions had to be met before the girl could govern the land. In 1208, which is again much later, the girl seems to get total control at once, without reference to her age or her father's death (she is still underage, and assisted by her father). But the phrases may now have been used more freely, and it is in theory possible that she had been emancipated, so the case must remain open.

It is not known which age was meant by ἡλικία or ἀφῆλιξ in the 3rd century, but I have argued in *ZPE* 126 (1999) 203, that it probably still mostly referred to 12/14 years, although the upper Roman limit of 25 years was also known and applied in Egypt beside it. In principle, neither alternative can be excluded in this case.

The wording of 5058 may reflect the participants' attempts to express their feelings and wishes in less technical legal language. In a way, the father would have a kind of usufruct during his lifetime, while the girl retained some sort of ownership. This is far from third-century

Roman law, because the lawyers would never have defined the father's rights as a usufruct but as a full ownership limited at most by a moral obligation to preserve the property for the girl. However, it is very much what Constantine decreed much later in a law of 315 on *bona materna* (CTh 8.18.1). See *JRS* 88 (1998) 151, 156–7, and *Women and the Law in Late Antiquity* 98 f.

In sum, whoever donated the money for the purchase, in Roman law the father would have had full legal ownership as long as he lived, an idea which the drafter of this document did not share. He felt that ultimately the property would end up in the daughter's possession, and he tried to express this in the best terminology he could. Roman law was not without influence: as long as he lived, the father would reap the profits, and this seems to have been a real change from earlier times. It is an interesting case of Roman law adapted to popular customs, anticipating Constantine's vulgar law. And it supports the theory that awareness of Roman law grew considerably between 220 and 258.

24 After *προφέρετε* the traces suggest either *εἴπερ* or *εἶναι*.

τὸν αὐτὸ(ν) πατέρα: or *τὸν αὐτὸν (π)ατέρα*.

25 Probably *ἀ]πὸ* or even *ἰἀπὸ* before *τῶν δηλουμένων*.

26 *προσόδους*. In this context *πρόσοδοι* are revenues from property, as for instance in III 494 14 (156) *ὡν πάντων τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ προσόδους πάσας μετὰ τὰ δημόσια ἔξει ἡ αὐτὴ γυνή μου*, and not cash payments imposed on land owing debts.

In the break it is tempting to restore *κρατεῖν σε καὶ κυριεύειν*; cf. e.g. 1208 17, 1475 27, 2723 19, 3498 22, 3638 17. However, we would expect this formula to start after the reference to the girl's majority (26–7), but it starts after *δημόσια*, which is unusual.

26–7 *ἡλικίας γενομένην*. Cf. e.g. 2723 21 *καὶ ἡλικί[α]ς γεν[όμενον]*.

27 If *το* is correct, it is very likely that we should supply *μετὰ τὴν το[ῦ] πατρὸς τελευτήν*. After it there is probably room for *ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν χάσθαι* before *καὶ οἰκονομεῖν*, as in 1208 19, 1475 28, 3498 25, 3638 21, P. Gen. 116.42–3, or simply *χάσθαι*, as in 2972 35 and (restored) 2723 21.

30 Restored after LII 3690 16.

31 Essentially this follows the formula found in several third-century Oxyrhynchite texts, e.g. 3638 28, but all omit *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον* and all have *εἶναι* instead of *ἔσται*. *ἔσται* is used in III 504 28 (early II) and P. Col. X 273.12 (Oxy.; 203) in similar phrases.

32 The noun at the beginning of the line is no doubt either *δημόσια* or *τελέματα*. Comparable texts have nothing similar for the rest of the lacuna before *ἀμπέλου*. The usual expression is *μηδ' ἄλλω μηδενὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ*. Possibly *μηδενί* was accidentally omitted.

32–3 *μηδεμιᾶς . . . καταλιπομένης*. The phrase is regular in Oxyrhynchite sales but the position in 5058 is unusual.

33–4 *πάντα . . . δι[κ]ης*. Exact parallels are 1208 23 and 3498 34.

37–9 We know that the document was drawn up in year 5 from line 30. For the restoration of the imperial titulature, cf. XIV 1717 = C. Pap. Gr. I 38.10–15, and see M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, AD 235–284* (1990) 358 no. 431. Valerianus the younger, whose death is placed in the summer of 258 (see Peachin, op. cit. 38–9; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1996) 221, speaks of end of 257 / beginning of 258), is mentioned as still alive, and consequently his younger brother, Saloninus, had not been made Caesar: he is included in the date of XXXI 2560 23–7, Mesore 258 (day unknown), and so 5058 must be earlier than this.

40–44 Not much more than 25 letters have been lost at the left in these lines. The restorations are *exempli gratia*. 3638 39 ff. seems to be the closest parallel.

R. HATZILAMBROU

5059–5060. ORDERS TO SUPPLY WHEAT

These two orders, found together, concern the supply of wheat to the same *dekaprotos* and may well have been issued by the same person. In the first (5059), Sarapion alias Dionysius orders a farmer to deliver an amount that the latter owes him to a *dekaprotos*; apparently an overdue loan of seed-corn or rent would be paid towards Sarapion's land taxes. In the second (5060), perhaps the same Sarapion (see 5060 1 n.) orders another person to make a payment for 'lands of the city of the Oxyrhynchites', presumably for rents (see 5060 3–4 n.).

Both documents refer to a fifth regnal year. Two considerations point to a date in the second half of the third century: in 5060 4–5 the wheat is measured *μέτρῳ δεκάτῳ*, a measure not attested in papyri before the mid third century; the office of *dekaprotos* is recorded in Egypt from 242–6 to 302. Therefore, this fifth year could be of Valerian and Gallienus, Aurelian, or Probus; the reign of the Philippi is also a possibility.

Both texts are written along the fibres on the back of other documents, assignable to the first half of the third century, which were cut to size.

5059

67/7(c)

13.8 × 5.2 cm

1 September 257 or 273
or 2 September 279

Ἡρακλᾶ γεωργῶ π(αρά) Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυ-
κίου. παράδος Ἀμμωνάρῳ δεκαπρώτῳ πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος)
τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ἄς ὀφείλεις μοι (ἀρτάβας) κδ μέτρῳ Ἄσκληᾶ
κὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις. (ἔτους) ε//, Θῶθ δ-

1 π' 2 γενη" 3 δς 4 L

'To Heraclas, farmer, from Sarapion alias Dionysius. Deliver to Ammonarus, *dekaprotos*, from the wheat crop of the fourth year, the 24 artabas that you owe me, (measured) by the measure of Asclas, with the accompaniments. Year 5, Thoth 4.'

1–2 *Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυκίου*. A person of this name, son of Aurelius Philippus, ex-cosmetes, ex-exogetes (see BL IX 161), and *bouleutes* of Oxyrhynchus, occurs in XX 2278 3 (mid III); possibly the same as Sarapion alias Dionysius (no patronymic) in XII 1433 57–8 (238) and 1537 3 ('π/III' ed.).

2 *Ἀμμωνάρῳ*. This name is formed by *Ἀμμωνᾶς* (or *Ἀμμων*) + *ἄρος*.

δεκαπρώτῳ. On this office, see most recently P. Köln IX 380.2 n. with references.

3 *ὀφείλεις*. For the use of the verb *ὀφείλειν*, see H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* 94, 146–8.

μέτρῳ Ἄσκληᾶ. This measure appears only in this papyrus; for private measures in general, see

J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* 103–4, and D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* 13–21.

Ἀσκληὰς is a diminutive of Ἀσκληπιός; see O. Masson, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 251–4; J. Bingen, *CE* 63 (1988) 344.

4 εὐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις. It is hard to tell the nature of the payment from these extra charges; we find ἐπόμενα in repayments of seed-loans (Wallace, *Taxation* 39), loans, sales, as well as tax payments (ibid. 329).

5060

67/7(d)

13.7 × 7.1 cm

9? September 257/273
or 10? September 279

Βωλ traces of c.8 letters Ζαραπι traces of c.10 letters

παράδος Ἀμμ[ων]άρω δεκαπρώ-
τω λιβδὸς τοπαρχίας ὑπὲρ ἑδαφῶν
πόλεως τῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν μέτρῳ

5 δεκάτῳ πυρ[οῦ] ἀρτάβας τριά-
κοντα, (ἀρτάβας) λ. (ἔτους) εἰ/, Θῶθ ιβ.

6 ⅈ L

‘(To?) Bol—(from?) Sarap—. Deliver to Ammonarus, *dekaprotos* of the Eastern toparchy, for lands of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, thirty artabas of wheat, 30 artabas, (measured) by the *dekaton* measure. Year 5, Thoth 12(?)’

1 Βωλ-. Names beginning with these letters are Βῶλος, Βωλανός, Βωλᾶς, mainly attested in the first or second century.

It is tempting to think that line ended π(αρά) Ζαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυτίου, but abrasion is too severe for any reading to be confirmed.

3–4 ὑπὲρ ἑδαφῶν | πόλεως τῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν. On land belonging to the city of Oxyrhynchus, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 91, and J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 260–61. The word order πόλεως τῆς Ὀ. is unusual.

4–5 μέτρῳ δεκάτῳ. Cf. 5061 5. This was a four-choenix measure, which means that it was equivalent to μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ; see J. Shelton, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 67, who argues against R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 241–62, that this phrase is used for a six-choenix artaba; see also XLIX 3458 7–10 n., and D. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 271. The earliest occurrence of this measure is offered by LXIV 4439 16–17 (258/9).

6 Θῶθ ιβ. What is read as ι could also be the descender of ρ of τριάκοντα in 5 (this stroke has a hook at the foot; cf. the ρ of ἀρτάβας in 5). If so, the date is Thoth 2, which would correspond to 30 August 257/273 or 31 August 279.

N. LITINAS

5061. RECEIPT FOR WHEAT

22 3B.15/6(1–5)b

9 × 12.3 cm

28 October 277

The light-brown papyrus is complete, with margins of 1.5 cm at the top and 2.5 cm at the bottom. Written across the fibres in a practised hand, on the back of a piece cut from an alphabetic register with payments in artabas. There is a vertical *kollesis* c.2 cm from the right-hand edge.

Aurelius Heras acknowledges that he has received six artabas of wheat from a landowner, Theon or Theonas. The date, Hathyr 1, suggests that this was seed-corn; in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the sowing of wheat normally took place in October/November; see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1925) 137–45. Advances of seed-corn are common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but rarely attested after the third century; see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (1958) 129–131.

Ἀυρήλιος Ἡράς Παπιντώτος

Θεων[.]ς γεούχῳ χαίρειν

ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκαίναί με παρὰ σοῦ

πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόν-

5 τος ἔτους μέτρῳ δεκά(τῳ) ἀρτάβας

ἕξ, γίνονται πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ,

(ἀρτ.) 5. (ἔτους) β/ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

Ἀυρηλίου Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ,

Ἄθῆν α/. Ἀυρήλιος Cιλβα-

10 νὸς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἶ-

δότος γράμμα(τα).

3 1 ἐσχηκέναι

5 δεκα-

7 ⅈ 5 L β

‘Aurelius Heras son of Papintos, to Theo—, landowner, greetings. I acknowledge to have received from you from the harvest of the past year six artabas of wheat by the tenth measure, total six artabas of wheat, art. 6. Year 2 of our lord Aurelius Probus Augustus, Hathyr 1. I, Aurelius Silvanus, wrote for him who does not know letters.’

1 The name Παπιντώς is as yet unattested, but similar variations of the more common name Παποντώς occur: Παπεντώς in SB VIII 9904.5 (Antinoe, 154), XIV 1720 3 and P. Iand. III 51.48 (both Oxyrhynchus, 6th century); Παπηντ() P. Flor. III 297. 151 (Aphrodito, 525/6).

2 Θεων[.]ς. We expect a dative. Θεων[ο]ς as a mistake for Θεωνι (by accommodation to the previous name)? or Θεων[ᾶ]ς as a mistake for Θεωνᾶ?

5 μέτρῳ δεκά(τῳ). See 5060 4–5 n.

6 The final ξ is subscript (εξ), owing to lack of space.

O. PELCER

5062. LETTER OF AMMONIUS, HERAIS, AND EUPORUS
TO PRISCUS, THAESIS, AND HERMINUS

28 4B.61/E(3-4)a

14.1 × 30.2 cm

Later third century
Plate X

This letter is written across the fibres on the back of a piece cut from an account or register (elaborately laid out, in a large elegant hand strongly influenced by the chancery style; uncertainties abound, so that publication has been deferred).

The position of the address on the back, c.3 cm from the right edge as viewed from the front, and the central horizontal crease that runs through line 19 in the centre of the piece, and is adjacent to the end of the address, show how the letter was packaged. The lower half was folded up over the top, so as to conceal the letter. Then the doubled sheet was rolled up with the left edge inside, was squashed flat, and the right-hand edge was tucked inside. Some ink spots in the text of the letter indicate that it was rolled when wet. When the string round the middle of the package was in place, a simple design of four short horizontal strokes was inked across it. The address was written on one of the two exposed panels, in two halves, separated by the binding.

The hand responsible for the letter is a professional cursive that may be placed in the third century; cf. P. Flor. II 175 (255; pl. cxxv in *Scrivere libri e documenti*). Given that the earliest attestation of a *μειζων* dates from 247 (see below, 17 n.), the letter could be assigned to the second half of the third century, and before the disappearance of the office of the epistrategus; see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* (1982) 64–8. The scribe wrote good Greek but with the occasional phonetic spelling. Blank spaces often indicate period ends; see 10, 18, 24, 27, 29, 31.

This fairly long letter conveys the prompt response of Ammonius, Herais, and Euporus, presumably siblings, to a letter of Priscus, their father, Thaesis, their mother, and Herminus, concerning their troubles with their debtor Cephalon. The address on the back names only Ammonius as the sender, who is called a *διαστολεύς*, an estate or tax official; and Priscus and Herminus as the recipients, the one described as a ‘winner of many contests’, the other a *νεωκόρος*, perhaps an honorary title. Ammonius claims to have direct access to higher authorities; this may be a mere boast, but we are clearly among a distinguished milieu.

Cephalon seems to have denied that he was bound by a loan contract, and tried to intimidate his creditors by petitioning the epistrategus. We are not told whether his reaction was preceded by an informal demand for repayment or a formal notification through a *διαστολικόν*, a complex document that embedded the original contract, the application and other correspondence relative to the *demosiosis*, the summons served to the debtor by the authorities and the order to pay. In the former case, the *diastolikon* should now be served by the *hyperetes*, while in the

latter, the *hyperetes* should deliver another document, possibly a copy of the *chrematismos enechyrasias*; we regard the former alternative as more likely. Ammonius asks his correspondents to have the *διαστολικόν* delivered; otherwise they should take the matter to the epistrategus. Upon communication (*μετάδοσις*) and receipt of the *διαστολικόν*, Cephalon should make the *έγγραφή*, apparently an indispensable step in the procedure, but for which we have no parallel; some sort of registration is meant. Ammonius asks to be notified at that stage, and promises to intervene with the authorities. He assures them that Cephalon’s original bond is officially registered, and that he will produce a copy. He reiterates that what matters are the procedures described by *μεταλαμβάνειν* and *έγγράφεσθαι*, and that he has proofs against Cephalon. The understanding of the last part of the letter (27–37) is rendered difficult by physical damage, but again the same procedures are emphasized.

If Cephalon had already been served the *διαστολικόν*, one may think that his action was a formal *antirrhesis*, but this is not necessary. Parsons notes that the letter may reflect an overlap between the standard legal proceedings of the creditor and the typical evasive manoeuvres of the debtor. An edict of the prefect Valerius Eudaemon, II 237 (Petition of Dionysia) viii 7–18, had noted that many debtors, by threatening their creditors with ‘greater charges’ (i.e., the charge of forging the alleged contract), try to scare them off or to blackmail them into accepting a reduced payment. This edict is dated 18 July 142. However, it refers back to a precedent set by Petronius Mamertinus (133–7); it is followed by the summary of a presumably relevant case heard by Munatius Felix (14 September 151); and both documents are incorporated in the Petition of Dionysia (after 27 June 186). More than a century later SB VI 9192 (314/15) shows another debtor pressing this same claim of forgery. Since the situation was recurrent, the edict of Eudaemon, or others like it, may well have remained in force as part of local case-law. But the issue was more than local. CJ 9.22.2 preserves a rescript of Alexander Severus (5 May 223): *satis aperte divorum parentum meorum rescriptis declaratum est, cum morandae solutionis gratia a debitore falsi crimen obicitur, nihilo minus salva executione criminis debitorem ad solutionem compelli oportere*. Thus Ammonius, when he refers to *οί νόμοι* (15), may have imperial rulings in mind.

On the general issue of recovery of debts, see P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (1920) 141–65, R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (2 1955) 531–7, and B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* (1993) 99–140.

Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἡραῖς καὶ Εὐπόρος Πρείσκω
 τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ καὶ Θαήσει τῇ κυρίᾳ μητρὶ
 καὶ Ἑρμείνῳ τῷ ἀξιολογώτατῳ πολλὰ χαίρειν.
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἐπειφ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν χθές, γράμματα
 5 ἐκομισάμεθα διὰ Χαιρήμονος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρταπάτου
 δι' ὧν φατέ ὡς τὸν Κεφάλωνα τῇ ἀγνωμοσύ-
 νῃ προσκίοντα λέγοντα μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ γράμ-
 ματα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
 10 γελυότατον πρᾶγμα καὶ θαυμαστόν, οἱ χρεώσται
 τοὺς δανιστάς ἐκφοβοῦσι. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα οὐ-
 τως πέπρακται, ὡς φατέ, εὐτόνως μετα-
 λαβέτω κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον. κἄν ἀμελήσῃ ὁ ὑπη-
 ρέτης, τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ αὐτὸν προσενέγκα-
 τε καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταδόσει ποιείτω τὴν ἐνγρα-
 15 φήν, ὡς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν. καὶ εὐθέως μοι
 διαπέμψατε ὅπως καὶ γὰρ προσέλθω
 τῷ μείζονι. ἐξὸν γάρ μοι ἐντυχεῖν περὶ οὗ
 εἴαν θέλω πράγματος. τὰ δὲ γράμματα
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐστὶν ἐν καταχωρι-
 20 μῶ ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῇ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ
 ἰδιόχρ[α]φᾶ ἀκολουθῶς τῷ διαστολικῷ.
 οἷως δ[ε] τῷ μείζονι τὸ ἄλλο μοναχὸν ἐνθάδε
 τὸ δὲ κρεινόμενον τοῦτό ἐστιν, τὸ μεταλα-
 βεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγράψασθαι. εἴπερ προ-
 25 ἤρηται ἀγνωμονεῖν, ἔχω πρὸς ἔλληγον
 πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις, πρῶτον τὸ γράμμα, δεύτε-
 ρον ἄλλα τινά. καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει δὸς αὐτῷ
 τῷ πρα[.] . . . προσέλθατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἔχοντες
 τὸ α. [c.5] . παρ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ ν[.] . . ω μη-
 30 δε. [c.8] ν ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτ[ῷ] τῷ ἀγνώ-
 μο[νι] πλὴν ἐ]γγραφῆς. καὶ ὑμεῖν τοῖς μη
 δε. [c.8] ἄλλο οὐδὲν δύναται γενέσθαι,
 εἰ μ[ὴ] c.5 μ]εταλάβῃ [η] καὶ ἐγγράψῃτε καὶ ποι-
 ῆσθε c.4 μεταπ]εμφθῆναι. ἔμαθον γὰρ ὅτι
 35 καὶ ε. [c.12] οὐσιακῶ μεταπέμπετε
 αὐτο[c.10] τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς προσαγορεύ-
 σατε [c.11] κατ' ὄνομα. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς
 θεοῖς πᾶσιν εὐχόμεθα.

Back, downwards across the fibres:

Πρείσκω νεωκόρῳ (design) καὶ Ἑρμείνῳ πλειστονείκ[η]
 40 π(αρὰ) Ἀμμωνί[ο]υ δια (design) στολ(έως)
 1 ἰ. Πρίσκω 3, 39 ἰ. Ἑρμίνω 4 τουτ' 7 προσκίοντα 9 ἰ. γελοιότα-
 τον 10 ἰ. δανειστάς 12 ὑπη- 14 ἰ. μεταδόσει 1. ἐγγρα- 23 ἰ. κρινόμενον
 24 ἰ. ἐγγράψασθαι 25 ἰ. ἔλληγον 26 ἰ. ἀποδείξεις 30 ὑπολείπεσθαι 31 ὑμειν;
 ἰ. -ὶν 33 ἰ. ἐγγράψηται 39 ἰ. πλειστονείκη 40 π' διαστο^λ

Ammonius and Herais and Euporus to Priscus, our lord father, and Thaisis, our lady mother, and to Herminius, the most notable, many greetings. On the 17th of Epeiph, that is, yesterday, we received a letter through Chaeremon from Artapatou, by which you say that Cephalon because of his insolence approached (you) saying that the bond is not his (or there is no bond of his), but also that he approached the epistrategus—the most ridiculous and astonishing thing, the debtors are trying to frighten the creditors. Therefore, if these things have happened as you say, let him promptly receive (it) according to what is lawful, and if the *hyperetes* shows negligence, produce him (= Cephalon) to the epistrategus and upon the notification let him make the registration, as the laws order. And immediately send me notice, so that I also contact the higher authority; for it is possible for me to petition for whatever I may wish. His bond is in the registry with the authority over my subscription that it is his autograph in accordance with the *diastolikon*. I will also bring to the higher official here the other document, written in one copy only; this is the critical point, that he receives it and that he registers himself. If indeed he has chosen to be obstinate, I have many proofs for scrutiny, first the bond, second some other things. And do not give . . . him in a regular way or (?) approach him, but having the . . . from me. And . . . nothing else remains for this obstinate man apart from the registration. And nothing else can happen for you who . . . , except that he receives (the document) and registers himself. And . . . have (him?) sent for; for I learned that . . . domain (land?) . . . send for him (or: he is sent for). Greet . . . and her mother . . . by name. We pray for your health to all gods.⁷

Back: 'To Priscus, *neokoros*, and Herminius, victor in many contests, from Ammonius, *diastoleus*.'

1-2 Πρείσκω τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ καὶ Θαήσει τῇ κυρίᾳ μητρὶ. Although πατρὶ and μητρὶ need not be taken literally, it is likely that this letter is indeed sent by two brothers and a sister to their parents and Herminius; the reference to Herminius as ἀξιολογώτατος sets him apart from the family. These persons may recur in P. Gen. III 144, a letter addressed by a certain Herminius to his brother Ammonius and his sister Herais; the papyrus is assigned to the second century, but may well be of the third.

3 τῷ ἀξιολογώτατῳ. The epithet is predominantly attested in the third century, and is commonly used for persons of high standing; see H. Geremek, *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 162-4.

4 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἐπειφ: 11 July.

5 Ἄρταπάτου. For this well attested *epoikion* in the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite* (1981) 35.

6-7 ὡς . . . προσκίοντα. Participles preceded by ὡς may be used instead of an infinitive; see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) §§ 912-17.

τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ (cf. 25, 30-31). In the context of this letter it seems to mean refusal to pay, contumacy; cf. e.g. XLIX 3480 17 (360-90), or XIX 2237 13 (498).

7 προσελθόντα. An expression such as διὰ βιβλιδίου is probably to be understood, as e.g. in BGU II 614.12 (Ars., 217), since this was the way in which a case could come before the epistrategus (the other two being delegation from a superior, or referral from an inferior); see Thomas, *Roman Epistrategos* 113 ff.

7-8 μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ γράμματα. Given the lack of the article before γράμματα, this phrase

should mean, 'there is no contract of his'; for the expression, cf. I 37 = C. Pap. Gr. I 19.13 (49) *ἔστιν γράμματα αὐτοῦ*, BGU VII 1567.18 (iii) *οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν γράμματα*. But the reference to τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ in 18–19 and the emphasis on *ιδιόγραφα* in 20–21 suggest that we have to understand, 'the contract is not his': Cephalon has accused Ammonius and the group he represents of falsification. Cf. II 237 viii 14, from the edict of Valerius Eudaemon (see introd.), *πλαστὰ εἶναι τὰ γράμματα ἐξήτων*; SB VI 9192.8–9 *οὔτε γὰρ [ρ] ἔστιν μου γραμμάτων οὔτε ὑποσημείωσις*.

8 τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ. There are a few documents that concern disputes over money debts addressed to the epistrategus, e.g. PSI IV 281 (ii), P. Fam. Tebt. 43 (182) and I 70 (212/13; see BL I 314); such cases normally involve relatively prominent and wealthy persons (cf. Thomas, *Roman Epistrategos* 112). I 68 = M. Chr. 228 = Jur. Pap. 47 (131) preserves the denial of a money claim (*ἀντίρρησις*) to a high official whose name and title are lost, but who could be the epistrategus or the *archidicastes*; see Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 156; if the former, this could be a parallel to our case, though we do not know much about the background (see above, introd.).

9–10 οἱ χρεώσται τοὺς δανιστὰς ἐκφοβοῦσι. Cf. 237 viii 10–11 οἱ μὲν καταπλήξ(ε)ω τοὺς τάχα ἂν φοβηθέντας τὸν κίνδυνον.

11 εὐτόνωσις. This is the second certain attestation of this adverb in a papyrus, after SB XVI 12326.1–2, a late-third-century letter; perhaps cf. also P. Mich. XVIII 769.12 (200 BC?). The comparative *εὐτονώτερον* occurs more often. It should be considered among 'les expressions d'intensité adverbiales' listed by H. A. Steen, *C&M* 1 (1938) 153–8, which are used to intensify the need for the instant execution of the order transmitted through the letter. Cf. *εὐθέως* in 15.

11–12 μεταλαβέτω. Cf. 14, 23–4, 33. It is not clear whether Cephalon should receive the *diastolikon* (21 n.) or a notification of the *ἐνεχυρασία* procedure. For these stages in the process of execution, see BGU XV 2472 (160), P. Heid. IV 325 (215), Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 143–4, and Tenger, *Die Verschuldung* 102–4. In the former case, Cephalon must have approached the epistrategus after an informal demand for repayment of the loan, while in the latter case Cephalon must have been delivered the *diastolikon*, to which he officially reacts by approaching the epistrategus.

12–13 ὁ ὑπηρέτης. This official should belong to the staff of the strategus. He is expected to notify the debtor that his creditors will take or have already taken action against him. These duties of the *hyperetes* are described in S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano* (1997) 42–4.

13–14 τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ αὐτὸν προσενέγκατε. In case of negligence of the *hyperetes*, the addressees of the letter should petition the epistrategus to have Cephalon summoned. This may imply that Priscus, and possibly Cephalon too, was close to where the epistrategus was based.

14 μεταδόσις, l. -ει. This is a general term for 'notification'; see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano*, ii: *L'introduzione del giudizio* (1979) 80.

14–15 ποείτω τὴν ἐγγραφήν. Cf. 24, 33. This should be a legal step in the direction of recovering the debt, and seems essential in the procedure, since Ammonius repeatedly states that without it they cannot take further action. According to my first scenario (see 11–12 n.), it should take place between the *μετάδοσις διαστολικῶ* (11–12, 14) and the *enteuxis* to the *μείζων* (17). This could be partly supported by the fragmentary BGU II 614.5–6 *μεταδοθῆ* (names) *κλη]ρονόμοις Λογγυίας τῆς καὶ Θερμοθαρίου τῆς διὰ τοῦ διαστολ(ικῶ) ἐγγεγραμμένης εν*. [The only known actions that may follow the delivery of the order of payment is the acknowledgement of receipt and the formal denial of the claim on the part of the debtor (*ἀντίρρησις*). It would thus be tempting to think that *ποείτω τὴν ἐγγραφήν* means that the debtor should officially acknowledge receipt of the *diastolikon* that will be handed to him; acknowledgement of receipt of the *diastolikon* is mentioned in III 485 41–2 (178) *Σαραπιὰς Πόδωνος [ε]ἰχρον τούτου τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον*.

But the chief meaning of *ἐγγραφή* is 'registration'; for the debtor's receipt we might expect *ὑπογραφή*. Parsons suggests another interpretation, based on SB XII 10989.39 (= P. Princ. III 119, revised by A. Hanson, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 18 ff.), notes for an advocate's speech datable c.325. There the plain-

tiff has accused the defendant in a *δηλατορία*; the defendant's lawyer responds *δεόμεθα μηδὲν μὲν [υ]εωτερί[ζ]εσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἐγγραφήν τὴν ἐξ ἀπάτης εὐρήκ[α]σιν ταύτην χολάζω*. Behind the rhetorical language, we may recognise Roman terminology: *delatio nominis* (*δηλατορία*) leads on to *inscriptio* (*ἐγγραφή*), that is, the formal registration of the accused's name on the list of those facing trial. This would suit the manoeuvres described in Eudaemon's edict, which requires any allegation of forgery to be made immediately, *χρηματικῆς . . . συστάσης δίκης*, and backed up by a formal commitment to prosecute the alleged forger (*γράψας κατηγορήσειν*); at that point the debtor cannot withdraw, and if he loses the case he will suffer the appropriate penalties. Thus *ἐγγραφή* in our letter would correspond to *γράψας* in the edict; and follow the serving of the *διαστολικόν*, as *γράψας* follows the institution of the *χρηματικὴ δίκη/ἀμφισβήτησις*.

15 οἱ νόμοι. Has Ammonius anything specific in mind? The term could certainly apply to imperial rescripts and the like (Taubenschlag, *Op. min.* ii 107–13); see introd. Could it apply also to the rulings of Prefects?

17 τῷ μείζωνι. In the third and early fourth century the term *μείζων* denotes a higher official of a not clearly identified post; cf. XII 1556 8 (247), P. Lond. II 214.22 (p. 161) = W. Chr. 177 (272–5), VIII 1121 22, 26 (295), XXXIII 2667 10 (309), VI 900 19 = W. Chr. 437 (321), XXXVI 2767 13–14 (323), XLI 2969 11 (323), P. Cair. Isid. 78.5 (324), and see G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (1928) 69. Here the *μείζων* may be the epistrategus (or the prefect?).

17–18 ἐντυχεῖν περὶ οὐδὲν ἐὰν θέλω πράγματι. This phrase could be a boast of Ammonius that he has friends among the authorities and could work out whatever he wishes.

19–20 παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐστὶν ἐν καταχωρισμῷ. The *ιδιόγραφον* loan-contract appears to have gone through the process of *demosisis*, that is, it should have been deposited in two separate registries in Alexandria, the original (*ἀθθεντικόν*) in the Hadriancion and a duplicate (*ἴσον*) in the Nanaion, after being checked in the *καταλογεῖον*, the record office, headed by the *ἀρχιδικαστής*. See W. E. H. Cockle, *JEA* 70 (1984) 116–17; F. Burkhalter, *Chiron* 20 (1990) 203, 207–8.

20–21 ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῇ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ *ιδιόγρα[α]φα*. The contract may have been drafted by Cephalon and signed by himself and Ammonius, who seems to represent the group of the creditors. Alternatively, when Ammonius petitioned the *archidicastes* for the *demosisis* of the loan, he could have signed it as being Cephalon's cheirograph; cf. BGU II 578.17–18 = M. Chr. 227 = Jur. Pap. 46 (189) *τῆς ἀναδόσεως μὴ γενομένης βούλομαι ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι τὸ ἀθθεντικὸν δικσὸν χειρόγραφον καὶ ἀξιῶ ὑπογράψαντος τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ [. . .] . . . ὡ περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγρα(φον)*.

21 ἀκολουθῶσι τῷ διαστολικῷ (sc. *ὑπομνήματι*?). The implication is either that the *διαστολικόν* had been sent to Cephalon or that it was ready to be delivered to him; it is also possible, though less likely, that this expression generally refers to the procedure of the *διαστολικόν*. A *διαστολικόν* is the 'order to pay' forwarded from the creditor to the debtor through the strategus. It was a copy of the creditor's petition to the strategus, delivered to the debtor by the *hyperetes*, to which sometimes the strategus' order is added, and to which copies of documents required for the procedure (a copy of the loan contract, the creditor's petition to the *archidicastes*, and the dated directive to the strategus by the *archidicastes* to have this 'order' served to the debtor through a *hyperetes*) may be appended. In cases when *demosisis* (see 19–20 n.) of the loan-contract has not been effected and is now requested, a subscription by the officials of the *dialoge*, signifying that the necessary fees for the *demosisis* have been paid, could also be included in the *διαστολικόν* after the petition to the *archidicastes*. For the two types of *διαστολικά*, that is, with or without *demosisis*, see O. Primavesi, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 103–5. The former, that is, with *demosisis*, seems to be the case of the loan that forms the background of this letter. The *διαστολικόν* normally reverses the chronological sequence in which the documents are written; cf. III 485, XII 1472 (136), P. Mich. XI 614 (Oxy, c.258/9; see BL VIII 216), BGU II 578, and generally Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 142–3.

22 τὸ ἄλλο *μοναχόν*. This should be Ammonius' own copy of the loan-contract.

26-7 δεύτερον ἄλλα τινά. Cf. perhaps BGU 578.10-11 τοῦ προειρημένου δικοῦ χειρογράφου ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον γράμμασι ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται, 18 περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἰδιόγρα(φον) ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον γράμμασι τοῦ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Μαρτιάλλ[ω]ς (the debtor).

27 μὴ ἐν τάξει δὲς αὐτῶ. There are several ambiguities here. The singular imperative is suspect, but may be a mere error. It is unclear whether μὴ goes with δὲς or with ἐν τάξει. The meaning of ἐν τάξει is also uncertain. In a similar situation, 237 viii 18-21, it seems to mean 'on the official list of those charged', but that will hardly fit here. Probably not 'in office' (no article), but possibly 'in the regular way', as distinct from the more devious strategy suggested in 28-9.

28 πρ[α] The last letter may be η, unless one reads ι .

29 Perhaps read τὸ ἄλ[λο ἴσο]ν. ἀν[τίγραφο]ν is too long for the space.

ν[.] . . . ω. ν[ο]μ[ί]ξω cannot be read; the letter before omega is probably epsilon.

29-30 μηδε[.] [c.8]ν: e.g. μηδὲν [ἄλλο πλέο]ν or (but perhaps short for the space) μηδὲν [ἔτερο]ν.

31-2 μηδε[.] [c.8]: e.g. μηδὲν[α ἀδικούσι or μηδὲν [χρεωστούσι.

33 εἰ μ[ὴ] c.5 μ[ε]ταλάβῃ. In the break supply e.g. αὐτός or, perhaps better, εὐθύς: the writer wants to emphasize that speed is of the essence.

33-4 Perhaps ποιήσω [αὐτὸν μεταπ]εμφθῆναι; we may also consider ποιήσω[μεν μεταπ]εμφθῆναι, but it is rather short for the space. For the collocation, cf. e.g. XLVII 3358 18-19.

35-6 μεταπέμπετε (35), if taken at face value, implies that Ammonius tells his correspondents to undertake something that officials normally do. It seems more likely that we have a phonetic spelling of μεταπέμπεται; cf. ἐγγράψητε (l. ἐγγράψηται) in 33. If so, καί in 35 introduces another case in which Cephalon is being summoned. οὐσιακῶ may have qualified a noun (e.g. ἐδάφει, γεωργῶ, etc.) or been used by itself to refer to the *procurator usiacus*. Before that, we would need a participle explaining the reason for his being sent for: e.g. ἐν[κληθεὶς παρὰ τῶ] οὐσιακῶ (Parsons).

36 If μεταπέμπετε in 35 is correctly spelled, read αὐτό[ν]; if not, it is difficult to reconstruct the text (αὐτό[θεν, -[θι?]). In the break a female name is expected, followed by καί.

37 Restore καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ or a similar phrase.

39 νεωκόρω. Priscus, who bears a Latin name, is *neokoros*, a term that could apply to those performing modest tasks in the service of a pagan sanctuary or to priests of higher rank; see E. Wipszycska, *JJP* 25 (1995) 183. However, most of the evidence that concerns the *neokoros* of Sarapis, mainly in Alexandria and Hermopolis, supports the view of W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* i (1905) 113-14, that, since all these people are in charge of at least one ἀρχή, the title was honorary and did not refer to a particular priestly function. Thus the *neokoroi* belonged to a privileged and wealthy social class, which could afford to make loans (for priests as creditors of loans, see Tenger, *Die Verschuldung* 170-72). Evidence for *neokoroi* in Oxyrhynchus is scarce; a *neokoros* of Tyche (of the Emperor?) is attested in III 507 = Sel. Pap. I 62.5-6 (146), and another of the Great Sarapis is attested in P. Mich. XVIII 789.15-17 (after 190). All were certainly members of the Oxyrhynchite elite. If Priscus was *neokoros* in Oxyrhynchus, he may have been a *neokoros* of Tyche (see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* 1094ff.; J. Whitehorne, ANRW II 18.5 (1995) 3083) or Sarapis (Ronchi, *Lexicon* 947ff.; Whitehorne, loc. cit. 3078-9).

πλεστονείκ[η]. See Pap. Agon. 1.18 n.; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 232.

40 διαστολ(έω). All but one of the third-century attestations of this term relate to a single individual, whom D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (1991) 295, describes as an estate supervisor of distribution and marketing of wine. The account on the other side of the letter could be associated with an estate. On this function see further P. Heid. IV pp. 111-16.

R. HATZILAMBROU

5063. LETTER OF CASTOR TO DEMETRIA

100/183(b)

9.3 × 13.2 cm

Late third century

Plate XI

The papyrus is broken off at the top and the foot; the loss at the foot is not likely to be considerable. The letter was folded vertically from left to right and then horizontally in the middle. The scribe wrote on the back of the lower part of the sheet the address, which indicates that the upper half of the sheet is lost. But later, as he wanted to write a new piece of information (as an addition to the text of the front?), he wrote one line on the back of the already closed (folded) letter. This text runs upwards, along the fibres. Both lines on the back are divided at mid-point by a rectangular design with cross-hatched patterns.

The papyrus preserves the lower part of a private letter, written in a fluent but untidy cursive. The writer's spelling is relatively correct, but he has difficulty with cases (4, 7). Though the beginning is lost, we learn from the address on the back the letter was sent by Castor to Demetria. The sender informs the recipient about his or others' actions, about some of his needs and the failure of some persons to keep their promises. The hand exhibits many of the features associated with writing of the third and early fourth centuries. The price of the wheat (see 2 n.) may point to a date in the last quarter of the third century.

. . . [. . .] ο[] ς . .
 πρὸς (δραχμάς) ςμ τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α. ἔπεμψα
 ὑμῖν δι(ὰ) Κορνηλίου
 καμηλάτου Ἀμμωνάτι υἱοῦ
 5 ξενικοῦ οἴνου σπατία ἔξ.
 καθὼς εἶπόν σοι περὶ τοῦ
 κηπώτην "ἔχει φασή-
 λ[1-2]ν" καὶ εἶπές μοι ὅτι
 "πέμπω Ἡρᾶν {καὶ} παραδ[ω]ιδό-
 10 ναι ς[ω]οι αὐτό", εἰδοῦ οὐκ [[ε]]ῆλθεν.
 ἀμμή, γράψον αὐτῶ ἵνα
 δοθῇ μοι αὐτό. ἐκκρού-
 σω σοι ὑπὲρ φόρου κύτου (ἀρτάβας) ε.
 ποσάκεις ἔγραψα ὑμῖν
 15 ὅτι "πέμψον μοι τὰ κιδήρια"
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπέμψαται· κἂν
 νῦν ἐν τάχει ἀπόστειλόν μοι
 αὐτά, ὅτι χρεία αὐτῶν ἔχω,

καὶ χαρτάρια κολλημάτων(ν)

20 εἴκοσι. ἐρρώσθαι σε ἐ[ῦχομ]αι.

Left margin, downwards:

]ηρ μου

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

καὶ κρειθής (design) (ἀρτάβας) εἰς Χωλε[ίωνα

Back, upwards, along the fibres:

ἀ(όδος) Δημητρία (design) π(αρά) Κάστωρι

2	ς	ω	3	δί	5	l. σπαθία	7	l. κηπώτου	8	ειπε:	space of c.0.5 cm		
between ι and π			9-10	παραδ[ω]ιδό[ναι] c[ω]οι,	ιδω	written on top of the first ω and οι on top of the second ω	10	short space after αυτο	1	ιδού	[[ε]ήλθεν: η written on top of ε	11	ῥνα
12	εκ	κρουσω	13	ὑπερ	ω	ε	14	l. ποσάκις	16	l. ἐπέμψατε	18	l. χρείαν	
19	κολληματω		22	l. κριθής	ω	ε,	ε	corrected from β	1	Χωλί[ωνα]?	23	απ' π'	
		l. Κάστωρος											

... at 240 dr. per artaba. I have sent you six *spathia* of foreign wine through Cornelius, camel-driver ... Ammonas. As I told you about Cepotes (or: the gardener?), "he has beans", and you told me that "I am sending Heras to give you that", now, look, he did not come, if not write to him, so that it gets given to me—I will knock off 5 artabas of grain in respect of the rent. How many times have I written to you "send me the iron tools" and you did not send them! Even now immediately send them to me because I need them, and papyrus rolls of 20 sheets. I pray for your good health ...'

Back: 'And 2 artabas of barley to Chole[ion?]'

Address: 'Deliver to Demetria, from Castor.'

1 The writer probably refers to a quantity of artabas that someone bought or sold (πέπρακα or ἐωνηγάμην should be the verb used in one of the lines above), but no text can be confirmed.

2 πρὸς (δραχμὰς) cμ. If this refers to the price of wheat, we can place the document in the last quarter of the third century. 200 dr. was a characteristic price because it appears suddenly (c.270) as a startling inflationary advance over earlier prices and remains reasonably steady for twenty years. Even in 269 the price had not exceeded 24 dr. See the material collected by D. Rathbone in J. Andreadou, P. Briant, and R. Descat (edd.), *Économie antique: prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (1997) 183-244 at 220-23, with earlier bibliography.

The genitive τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α specifies the unit. The accusative could also be used: cf. P. Gron. 16.19-20 πωλή[ση] σοι πρὸς (δραχμὰς) ις τὴν ἀρτάβην; P. Hamb. II 192.20-22 ἔλαβον τὸν χοῦν πρὸς δρ[α]χμὰς δεκαοκτώ; P. Mert. III 114.15-17 ἀγοράζω ἐκεῖ πορφύραν πρὸς (δραχμὰς) δ τὸν στατήραν.

4 For donkey or camel drivers mentioned as the transporters of goods, see N. Litinas, *APF* 45 (1999) 80. For the possibility that the letter was written in the Arsinoite nome, see next note.

Ἀμμωνάτι. The name is attested from the second century until the end of the third in many places in Egypt. In the fourth century, however, the attestation is restricted only to the Arsinoite, especially Karanis, and the Hermopolite nomes. In Oxyrhynchus this name is rare and in almost all cases it is not certain whether this person is an Oxyrhynchite (cf. XII 1423 1, 1425 15, 1517 7).

Ἀμμωνάτι υἱοῦ. The syntax is problematic. We could either emend υἱοῦ to the dative υἱῷ,

I sent you, for my son Ammonas', or emend Ἀμμωνάτι to the genitive Ἀμμωνάτος, 'via Cornelius the camel-driver, the son of Ammonas'. The scribe seems to make several mistakes in the cases of the nouns after the prepositions; cf. also the accusative instead of the genitive in 6-7 *περὶ τοῦ κηπώτην*, and the dative instead of the genitive in the address *π(αρά) Κάστωρι*.

5 ξενικοῦ οἴνου. For foreign products in Egypt, see H. Harrauer, 'Ausländische Waren in Ägyptens Papyri', *Arabes in Ägypten: Freundesgabe für Helene Loebenstein zum 65. Geburtstag* (1983) 51ff. For the adjective ξενικός, see N. Litinas, *MBAH* 26 (2008) 159-64.

σπατία, l. σπαθία. For the form, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 92. For *spathia*, see N. Kruit, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 38 (2001) 79-87.

6 εἶπον. See Mandilaras, *The Verb* §317.3; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 335ff. *ὅτι recitativum* (see 8 n., 14 n. below) is not used in this case. It seems that the word here has the meaning of *ἔγραψα*.

6-10 *περὶ τοῦ κηπώτην* "ἔχει φαχήλ[1-2]ν" καὶ ἐλπές μοι ὅτι "πέμψω Ἡρᾶν καὶ παραδ[ω]ιδόναί σοι αὐτό. After *περὶ τοῦ* we expect a genitive, which, however, we cannot find until the end of this period. Consequently, we have to take *κηπώτην* as a mistake for the genitive *κηπωτοῦ* or *κηπωτῆ*, a word not attested elsewhere. I propose the following possibilities: (a) a variant of the word *κηπουρός* (gardener; sometimes *κηπωρός* in the papyri; see *WB* s.v.); (b) a variant of the word *κήπος*; (c) a personal name, which derives from the word *κήπος*; cf. the names *Κηπωλίων* in O. Fay. 39.2 and 40.2 (iii), *Κηπᾶρος* (not *Κηπάριος* as in *Onomasticon*) in P. Princ. III 135.20 (iv), and *Κηπίων* in P. Clair. Isid. 34.11 (291-4). The nominative of the word *κηπώτην* is the subject of *ἔχει*. This could give an answer to the question above, but the lacuna in *φαχήλ[]ν* causes some additional problems. *φαχήλ[]ν* could be restored either as *φαχήλ[ω]ν* or *φάχηλ[ο]ν*. The neuter *αὐτό* in 10 and 12 refers either to *κηπώτην* or to *φαχήλ[1-2]ν*. To judge from the ending, the former seems to be masculine, while the latter could be either masculine or neuter, with two possible meanings: (a) a kind of bean, for which see R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* 80-95; V. Täckholm, *Students' Flora of Egypt* 272-80; R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 26; (b) a type of boat, for which see P. Ryl. IV 576.8 n. (*φαχήλιον*). Then, the verb *παραδιδόναί* is unusual with a ship as an object, and one would expect another verb, e.g. *φέρω*; cf. however P. Col. IV 110.8 (iii bc) τὸ δὲ πλοῖον [καθηκόνει] παραδώσωμεν Χρυσέμμω[ι]. As far as the meaning 'beans' is concerned, there are parallel phrases concerning wheat, barley, etc.; cf. P. Strasb. IV 181.12; PCZ III 59522.14; P. Heid. IV 338.8-9; 340.6-7; XLII 3048 15. In all these examples the subject is a person and the verb has the meaning of 'to possess'. For the use of this word in the singular, cf. also LIX 4002 12-13 φακῆν λελεπισμένην ὀλίγην καὶ σιτάριον ὀλίγον λελεπισμένον, 16 εἰ ἐλάβετε τὸν χόρτον; XII 1583 10 πέμψον καὶ τὸν κύαθον. Consequently, the most plausible assumption is to regard *κηπώτην* as a personal name and understand *φαχήλ[ω]ν* as meaning 'beans'.

8 ἐλπές μοι ὅτι. For *ὅτι* introducing direct speech, see LVI 3855 7 n.; LIX 3993 15 n. Cf. also 14 n. below.

9-10 "πέμψω Ἡρᾶν {καὶ} παραδ[ω]ιδόναί σοι αὐτό". *πέμψω* with a person as an object is not well attested. It is found in orders for arrest, mainly as a compound (but see U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 62); cf. also BGU XV 2493.16, CPR V 20.6, XIV 51.7, P. Abinn. 19.34, I 62 5, XIV 1671 5, P. Lips. I 105.6-7.

The scribe first wrote *παραδώσω* (volitive future: see Mandilaras, *The Verb* 185-7, §392-3), but later changed it to *παραδιδόναί*, an infinitive of purpose (Mandilaras, op. cit. §§770-71). He made the correction by writing *ιδω* above the first *ω*, *ναι* in the left margin, and *οι* above the second *ω*. The letters *ο* and *ι* are clearly corrected from *ω*, because they join each other and the latter never happens in this papyrus (in seven instances; cf. 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17). For this reason I do not consider possible a reading *παραδ[ω]ιδόναί σοι*, a correction either from *παραδώ* or from *παραδῶναι* (for this form of the infinitive, see Mandilaras, op. cit. §741-3). After making the correction, the scribe failed to delete *καί*.

10 εἰδὸν οὐκ ἤλθεν. On this 'body-middle disclosure formula', see White, *The Form and the Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* 2-5.

11 ἀμμή. The reading is certain. (i) A noun ἀμμά appears with various terminations in the sense 'mother' (in Christian times often of the Mother Superior, a parallel with the masculine ἀππα) and 'nurse'; see *DEG* for an overview of usage. The precise form ἀμμή is quoted from SEG 7.50 and appears also in SB VI 9158. (ii) Since SB 9158 is a letter addressed to a mother, its original editor understood ἀμμή in this sense. However, Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 262 n. 24, proposed instead to take it as 'the late spelling of ἄν μή', in the sense 'otherwise'. This would suit the context there very well, and the same argument may apply here in 5063. For its use in Mediaeval Greek see E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημόδου Γραμματείας* ii (1100–1669) 14–17. In Modern Greek, it survives in the elliptical sentence ἀμ(μ)ή τι ἄλλο, 'if nothing else'.

There are three possible translations of the sentence here: (a) if ἀμμή = ἀλλά, 'he did not come, but write to him'; cf. Kriaras, op. cit. (1a); (b) 'he did not come; well, write to him'; cf. Kriaras, (4a); (c) 'he did not come. Otherwise (if he does not come), write to him to give it to me'.

11–12 γράψον αὐτῷ ἵνα δοθῆ μοι αὐτό. Cf. VII 1066 14–15; γράφω + ἵνα (or ὅπως) + subjunctive is a characteristic of the letters; see R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in the Non-literary Papyri* 109–11; cf. also Mandilaras, *The Verb* 262, §58 6 (3), on ἵνα imperativum depending on a governing verb. The writer wants to emphasize the execution of the action and not the aim of the action; it is only expressed to soften or exemplify the command, and in such a case it equals the English 'please'; for the imperativum use of ἵνα in the New Testament, see also C. J. Cadoux, *JTS* 42 (1941) 165–73, and A. R. George, *JTS* 45 (1944) 56–60.

12–13 ἐκκρούσω σοι. Cf. XLI 2977; SB XII 11228.16, 21; P. Vind. Sal. 8.20–21. The verb is always used in relation to rent (P. Kell. IV p. 31), here ὑπὲρ φόρου. If Demetria will do Castor a favour by writing to Heras (or the gardener?), he will do her a favour by reducing her rent? That would imply that Castor is Demetria's landlord; on the other hand, she has the disposal of tools that he needs (15).

14 ποσάκις ἔγραψα ὑμῖν. The same phrase in XLVIII 3396 4 (iv) ποσάκις ἔγραψα ὑμῖν. For the colloquial use of ποσάκις, virtually equivalent to πλειονάκις, see LV 3816 6 n.

ἔγραψα is an example of continual aorist (see Mandilaras, *The Verb* 165–6, §§342–3; this continuity of the past could be interrupted by an adverb of frequency (here, ποσάκις).

ἔγραψα ὅτι + direct speech: see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.3 46–47, § 155 I(a), with reference to BGU IV 1141.13 (14 BC); see also VII 1066 8–10. For examples of γράφω ὅτι + indirect speech, see Mayser, op. cit. 45. But the first use of ὅτι recitativum seems to be popular, as we see it in N.T., Malalas, Modern Greek.

15 κιδήρια. κιδήριον was any implement or tool made of iron, e.g. irons, chains, knives, reins, etc.; see LSJ s.v. τὸ κιδήριον, Sophocles, s.v. κιδηρος. In the papyri, it is attested only in private letters: P. Cair. Zen. IV 59720.3 (III BC); SB XVI 12578.7 (86); P. Princ. II 66.6 (1); VII 1066 20 (III); BGU XVII 2713.7 (VI).

16 ἐπέμφεται is probably to be understood as aorist ἐπέμψατε rather than imperfect ἐπέμπετε. For the interchange of αι and ε, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 193 (2); for the interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops, see ibid. 87.

16–17 κὰν νῦν. See N. Litinas, P. Horak pp. 287–8.

18 αὐτά instead of ταῦτα: see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 174, 3d and n. 2; cf. also H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* 8–9. This can be explained by an omission of the noun after the personal pronoun, so that the latter is seen as a demonstrative one; in 15 πέμψον μοι τὰ κιδήρια, and 17–18 ἐν τάχει ἀπόστειλόν μοι αὐτά (i.e. τὰ κιδήρια).

19 χαρτάρια. This papyrus provides the only example in which χαρτάριον has the meaning of χάρτης or χαρτίον. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974) 77, states that this was a small sheet of paper, more often written than not; see also O. Claud. II 240.5 n. But in common usage it too must frequently have shed its original meaning as a diminutive; cf. P.Mich. VIII 510.23 (II/III) τὸ μικρὸν

χαρταρίδων; see also LIX 3993 44 n. Here, however, the phrase χαρτάρια κολλημάτων corresponds to χάρτας κολλημάτων; cf. P. Ryl. IV 629.63, 121.

κόλλημα: 'page', a sheet in a roll. 5063 provides new evidence for the 'standard' roll of twenty sheets (Plin. *NH* 13.77), on which see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 86–7. Note that Castor feels it necessary to specify the length: we could infer that other lengths were commonly available.

21]ηρμου: ἀν]ήρ, πατ]ήρ, μήτ]ηρ μου. If so, this could be part of a greeting formula from another member of the family, e.g. ἀσπάζεται σε ἡ μήτ]ηρ μου (cf. SB XVI 12594.19; XIV 11646.12; VI 9017.9) or the end of some other sentence (cf. e.g. SB VIII 9867.10 ἕως ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτ]ηρ μου). The position of the words, halfway up the original sheet, shows that they did not simply continue the final greeting in 20.

22 εἰς Χωλεῖώνα. One would expect a place name beginning with Χωλε, but no such toponym is known. A phrase such εἰς Χωλεῖωνος οἰκίαν is an alternative. Χωλε- could also be regarded as the beginning of a personal name, in a place where one expects a dative instead of a prepositional accusative. εἰς Χωλε[could have three meanings: (a) 'εἰς dient zur Bezeichnung freundlicher oder feindlicher Gesinnung, auch feindseligen Vorgehens "gegen" jemand'; (b) 'with regard to'; (c) 'to the account of a person' (see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 409, 412 and 414 respectively). The latter meaning could apply here. In addition, the only personal name I found is Χωλίαν (BGU I 9 iii 16; IV 1087 iii 11, vii 4 (276; see BGU XIII 2280); SB XIV 11556.6 (III)). Thus we could restore Χωλεῖώνα, assuming that there would have been an interchange of ι with ει (cf. 10, 14). The problem is that the crossbar of epsilon extends longer than in other cases where an iota follows it; cf. κρειθῆς and εἰς in the same line.

23 The design, apparently all by the same hand, crosses the fold, although the part that interrupts the address is badly preserved. For the purpose of such designs, see XLVIII 3396 32 n.

N. LITINAS

5064. DEED OF SURETY

49 5B.102/G(1–2)b

13.5 × 25.3 cm

13 May 392
Plate XII

The papyrus is complete in its outer dimensions, with top and left margins of c.1 cm and bottom margin of 2.5 cm. There is a *kollesis*, between 2.2 and 0.5 cm from the right-hand edge. Written in black ink along the fibres; all three hands are practised, upright cursives. The back is blank.

Aurelius Paulus submits a sworn declaration that he will act as surety for Aurelia Apollonia, a perfume-seller, who has to pay a daily contribution of 600,000 denarii (400 talents) into the account of the corporation or guild (εἰς λόγον ἐρανίου, 11). The perfume-sellers of Oxyrhynchus formed a guild, as did the oil-retailers (κοινὸν τῶν ἐλαιοπωλῶν, I 85 col. v, AD 338). A large number of guilds are attested in Oxyrhynchus in the fourth century; see LIV 3728–76 and Appendix II 230–32.

In Egypt, the retailing (and probably also the manufacture) of unguents, perfumes and spices was still a state monopoly in AD 161, as P. Fay. 93.5 shows (βούλομαι μεθώσασθαι . . . τὴν μυροπωλαϊκὴν καὶ ἀρωματικὴν ἐργασίαν . . . Θεμίστου μερίδος). A guild of perfume-sellers is attested at Alexandria in the time of Augustus; cf. A. Łajtar, *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36. On guilds or corporations in Roman and early

Byzantine Egypt, see Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1913) 184–96; A. Stöckle, 'Berufsvereine', *RE Suppl.* 4 (1924) 155–211; M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (repr. 1972) ii 158–62; I. F. Fikhman, 'Some Questions Concerning Economic Activities of Craftsmen's Corporations in Late Roman Egypt' (in Russian), *VDI* 93 (1965) 146–53.

ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου τὸ β' καὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ρουφίνου τοῦ λα(μπροτάτου), Παχῶν η'.

Αὐρηλίω Κυρίωνι ἐρανάρχη ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 κ[αί] λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου

5 Παύλου Εὐλόγιου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁμολογῶ
 ὁμνῶν τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν
 ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ Θεοδοσίου Ἀρκαδίου τῶν
 αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων ἐκουσία καὶ αὐθερέτῳ γνώμῃ
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι Αὐρηλίαν Ἀπολλωνία[ν] μυροπώλισσαν

10 ἐπεὶ τῷ ταύτην παρασχίῃ ἐπὶ καταβ[ο]λῆ ἡμερουσία
 εἰς λόγον ἐρανίου ἀπὸ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τοῦ ὄντος
 μηνὸς Παχῶν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους 'ξη-λζ//'' ἄχρι συμπλη-
 ρώσεως τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου χρό[ν]ου ἀνὰ ἀργυρ[ι]ου
 δηναρίων μυριάδας ἐξήκοντα ἀκοιλάν[τ]ωσ

15 εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ αὐτὴν μεμφθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή,
 ἐμὲ ἐπάναγκες ἄπερ φανείη χ[ρ]εωστου[σ]α
 π[α]ρα[σ]χεῖν ἢ ἔνοχος ἔσομαι τῷ [θει]ῷ
 ὄρκῳ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

(m.2) Αὐρήλιος Παῦλος Εὐλόγιου ἐγγυοῦμε τὴν
 20 προκειμένη Ἀπολλωνία καταβαλοῦσα εἰς λόγον
 ἐρανίου μυριάδας ἐξήκοντα ἡμεροῦσιως
 ὡς πρόκειται.

(vac.)

(m.3) δι' ἐμοῦ Cιλβανοῦ ἐγγρά(φη).

2 φλρουφινουτουλ'ς 6 l. σεβάσμιον 8 l. αὐθαιρέτῳ 9 εγγυασθαι 10 l. ἐπί,
 παρασχέιν 11 l. ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης 19 l. ἐγγυᾶμαι 20 l. προκειμένην Ἀπολλωνίαν
 καταβαλοῦσαν 22 l. πρόκειται 23 εγγράς

'In the consulship of our master Arcadius, eternal Augustus, for the 2nd time, and Fl. Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, Pachon 18.

'To Aurelius Syrion, guild-master, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Paulus son of Eulogius, of the same city. I acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our masters Valentinianus, Theodosius and Arcadius, the eternal Augusti, by willing and voluntary resolve to stand surety for Aurelia Apollonia, perfume-seller, for her to deliver to the

account of the guild, from the eighteenth of the present month of Pachon of the current year (year 68/37) up to the completion of the fixed term, daily payments of sixty myriads of silver denarii without interruption, so as to be in no way blameworthy; if she does not, I shall of necessity pay whatever she may turn out to be owing, or I shall incur the consequences of the oath; and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Paulus son of Eulogius, stand surety for the aforementioned Apollonia paying into the account of the guild sixty myriads daily, as stated above.'

(3rd hand) 'Written through me, Silvanus.'

1 On Arcadius' second consulate, see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987) 318–19; R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2004) 192.

3 ἐρανάρχη: the term is otherwise attested only in BGU IV 1133.5 (19 BC) and 1141.56, and O. Claud. I 158 (τῆραναρχι, l. τῷ ἐρανάρχη?, c.110); *eranos*-loans occur in several documents of Ptolemaic or Augustan date: P. Col. Zen. I 41.3, P. Hibeh II 259.3, BGU VI 1292.56 (?), reading uncertain), BGU IV 1134, 1135, 1136, 1165. The *eranos* was an association that granted interest-free loans to needy members (whether loans were granted also to non-members is uncertain; see San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen* i 225). Its funds came from the regular contributions of its members. Outside Egypt, the institution survived into Roman times, at least in free cities that had their own constitutions, as is illustrated by Trajan's reply to Pliny (*ep.* X 93): *Amiseno* . . . , *si legibus istorum, quibus beneficio foederis utuntur, concessum est erantum habere, possumus quo minus habeant non impedire, eo facilius si tali collatione non ad turbas et ad illicitos modi prohibendae sunt*. By the Byzantine period, the guilds had become instruments of the government, used mainly to control prices and to collect taxes from their members.

3–4 λαμπρᾶς κ[αί] λαμπροτάτης: for Oxyrhynchus, this formula is attested from 272 (X 1264) to the beginning of the sixth century; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277–92.

9 μυροπώλισσαν: -λισσαν has been corrected from -λεισσαν. In Athens, perfume-stalls were run by slaves, as Hyperides' speech *Against Athenogenes* shows; Pherecrates fr. 70 KA (quoted in Athenaeus XIII 612a) suggests that selling perfumes was regarded as a woman's job, not a man's. In Egypt, however, perfume-sellers were mostly men.

12 The year (68/37 of the Oxyrhynchite era = 391/2) has been added above ἄχρι. See *CSBE*² 57–9.

23 The notary's subscription is in the same hand as that of PSI IV 287.29, illustrated in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (1986) pl. 41: Oxy. 4.4.1. In PSI 287 (377) his name was read as Διοσκ[ι], but inspection of the original has revealed that it is clearly Cιλβα[ι]: this Silvanus was therefore active at Oxyrhynchus for at least fifteen years (I am grateful to Prof. Rosario Pintaudi, who made the original available to me at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

H. MAEHLER

5065. ORAGULAR RESPONSE (?)

19 B. 2/3 (t) a

1.7 × 10.1 cm

Fourth century
Plate I

A narrow strip of papyrus, blank on the back, deliberately cut to contain the text, a single verse of gnomic content. The writing is rounded, informal but skilled and fluent, with some ligatures (see in particular αρ, εϛ, ας). A date in the fourth century is suggested by the fact that bilinearity is often broken by letters extending

above and below the notional lines (e.g. by β, ρ, and χ) and by the shape of some letters, notably x. Parallels are difficult to find, because of the 'paraliterary' nature of the text and hand, but some features can be paralleled by comparison with P. Reinach 69 and P. Berol. 11037 (Cavallo–Maehler, *GBEBP* 6a–6b), or P. Flor. II 175 and PSI X 1125 (*Scrivere libri e documenti* 135 and 137, pll. 125 and 127), or LXVII 4628: for the most part, documentary hands.

The verse preserved, in spite of its gnomic content, seems to be not just a simple *γνώμη* good for any day or anyone, but rather an answer to a hypothetical question like 'How could I best manage in this affair?' or 'Should I proceed now, or wait?'

Even if the parallels are rare and doubtful, in consideration of the shape of the strip and the nature of the text, one may think of an oracular response: cf. the few papyri listed by W. Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)', ANRW II 18.5, p. 345¹ n. 373, and, in particular, P. Aberdeen 14. For the general background, see LXXIV 5017–19 introd.

μᾶλλον χαρήσῃ βραχὺν ἐπιμείνας
χρόνον

'You will enjoy more if you wait for a short while.'

¹ For *χαρήσῃ* in an oracular context, see the so-called *Sortes Astrampsychi*. Even if the future is not the tense of all the witnesses, there is a part of the medieval transmission that uses the future as the normal tense: cf. *Sortes Astrampsychi* ii, ed. R. Stewart (2001) p. xi (MSS ALM = e), and, for the use of *χαρήσῃ* in these MSS (always recorded in Stewart's apparatus), see *Decad.* 3.7, 38.5, 45.2, 52.5, 56.9, 59.10, 63.3, 67.3, 70.3, 89.2, 100.3.

C. PERNIGOTTI

5066. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT

30 4B.37/B(1–3)a

16 × 13 cm

460/61?

Victor, a skipper, through his brother Heraclides, has had delivered by Eulogius, *pronoetes* of the hamlet of Kolotou, 369 artabas of grain for the *annona civica* (ἐμβολή, specified as μικρά, which is novel) of a fourteenth indiction, and 3 solidi for transport charges, surely to Alexandria. Kolotou is said to belong to (the estate of) Strategius, *spectabilis comes*. His rank indicates that this must be Strategius 1, and the hand would suit a date in mid fifth century.

For this type of document, cf. I 142 (534), SB I 1972 (vi?); cf. also SB XVIII 13928 (468; see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 88), XVI 1997–8 (vi). A list of comparable documents, especially of earlier date, is given in P. Köln X 416 introd. (pp. 159–60).

The back is blank.

χμγ
ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ Οὐίκτωρος κυβερνή[το]υ δι' ἐμοῦ
Ἡρακλείδου ἀδελφοῦ. μεμέτρημαι καὶ ἐνεβαλόμην
εἰς τὸ προκείμενων πλοῖον παρὰ Εὐλογίου προνοητοῦ
5 Κωλώτου τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμιτος Στρατηγίου
ἀπὸ γενήματος τρικαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
εἰς λόγον μικρᾶς ἐμβολῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πίτου μέτρου κανγέλου ἀρτάβας τριακοσίας
ἐξήκοντα ἐννῆα καὶ λόγου ναύλου χρυσοῦ
10 νομισμάτια τρία, γί(νεται) πί(του) κα(γκέλλω) (ἀρτ.) τξθ καὶ νο(μ.) γ μόνας.
ὁ αὐτ[ὸ]ς Ἡρακλείδου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ προκειμένου
]. . [. . .] . [. . .]
· · · · ·
2 I. Οὐίκτωρος 3 I. ἐνεβαλόμην 4 I. προκείμενον 5 I. κόμιτος
6 I. τρικαιδεκάτης 7 I. ἐμβολῆς 8 ἰνδ. 1. μέτρω καγκέλλω 9 I. ἐννέα, λόγῳ
10 γαικαϚ νο I. μόνα 11 I. προκειμένου

'643. A receipt (issued) by me, Victor, skipper, through me, Heraclides, (his) brother. I have had measured out and laden into the aforesaid boat from Eulogius, *pronoetes* of Kolotou, which belongs to the *spectabilis comes* Strategius, from the produce of the thirteenth indiction, on account of the small *embole* of the fourteenth indiction, three hundred sixty-nine artabas of wheat by the *cancellus* measure, and for the transport dues three gold solidi, total 369 artabas of wheat and 3 gold solidi only. The same person (through?) Heraclides, brother of the aforesaid person, . . .'

2 ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ. Cf. 5067 1. This collocation is typical of Oxyrhynchite receipts of the fifth and early sixth centuries; among exactly dated examples, see VIII 1136 1 (420), P. Mich. XIV 681.1 (467), P. Köln V 235.1–2 (496), P. Wash. Univ. I 46.1 (v), SB I 1972.1 (vi?), I 142 (534).

5 Κωλώτου. The construction employed, with genitive of possession, indicates that this hamlet was a property of Strategius; cf. XVI 1899 7–8 (476) ἐποικίου Πιαα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀνδρός. In XVI 1900 9 (528) it is said to be a holding (κτηῖμα) of the episcopal church (καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία) of Oxyrhynchus, which indicates that it had passed to the possession or fiscal control of the Church by that date. This recalls the case of those hamlets that passed from the administration of the *domus divina* to the Apions and vice versa; see LXXII 4901 4 n. The only other attestation of Κωλώτου, in the ostrakon SB I 1989m, is not very informative.

τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμιτος Στρατηγίου. On Fl. Strategius I, see most recently P. Köln XI 459 introd. Given that Strategius was a *spectabilis comes* probably by 457 (LXX 4780) and was dead by 469, the fourteenth indiction mentioned in 7–8 should correspond to 460/61. A date in 445/6 cannot be excluded but seems less likely.

6 ἀπὸ γενήματος τρικαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος. The grain tax was paid out of the produce of the past year. It is perhaps pointless to speculate why this was done. In any case, payments in wheat out of 'old produce' are not unknown; see LXVIII 4704 3 n.

7 μικρᾶς ἐμβολῆς (I. ἐμ-). The term is new; there must have been a μεγάλη ἐμβολή too, but this is unattested. This may have been a second or supplementary shipment of tax grain, smaller in quantity than the main one.

7-8 τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). The shipment of grain for the *embole* will have taken place shortly after the harvest and while the Nile was easy to navigate, i.e., in the summer of 460. However, this could be a secondary shipment, made later in the year.

8 μέτρον κανγέλου, 1. μέτρον καγκέλλω. This seems to be the earliest attestation of this grain measure. It next recurs in XVI 1949 2 (481).

9-10 λόγου ναύλου χρυσοῦ νομιμῶματα τρία. 3 solidi paid for freight charges on 369 artabas of wheat corresponds to a rate of 19.5 carats per 100 artabas. This is slightly higher than the rates of 16-18 car. per 100 art. attested as freight dues from Oxyrhynchus to Alexandria in the sixth century; see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 159.

11 Perhaps read ὁ ἀπ[ὸ]ς [δ]ι' Ἡρακλείδου ἀδελφοῦ κτλ. (suggested by H. Maehler), unless the genitives are mistakes for nominatives.

A. SYRKOU

5067. ORDER TO PAY A CARPENTER

B 36.1, layer 1050

18.6 × 7 cm

Fifth century

This document, which is, apart from a gap in the centre, complete on all sides, is an order for payment by Lady Nonna, addressed to her steward or estate manager (προνοητή) Jeremias. She endorses the order in what is probably her own hand (5-6). The steward is to deliver one artaba of wheat to Joseph, a carpenter, as wage for work done on a waterwheel or *saqqia* (μηχανή).

The text is written across the fibres, *transversa charta*; a horizontal *kollesis* runs through and below line 4. The first hand is somewhat untidy and irregular, partly upright, partly sloping to the right, comparable to that of P. Mert. I 44 (pl. 46a); it can be assigned to the later fifth century. The second hand writes large, unconnected majuscules. The back is blank.

† ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ κυρᾶ Ν[όννα εὐγ]ενεστάτη
 Ἰερεμίας προνοητ(ῆ)· πα[ρά]σχοι Ἰωσήφ τέκτον
 (ὑπὲρ) μισθοῦ μηχανῆς Α. [... ..]ος δίτου ἀρτάβην μίαν,
 γί(νεται) δί(του) (ἀρτάβη) ᾧ μ(όνη). Τ[ὸ]βι ἰᾶ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πρώτης.
 5 (m.2) δι' ἐμοῦ κυρᾶ [Ν]όννα
 στοιχοῖ μοι.

1, 5 1. κυρᾶς Νόννας 1 1. εὐγενεστάτης 2 ἱερεμίας; 1. -μία προνοητς 1. τέκτονι
 3 4 γειτςσᾶλκ ωδλ 6 1. στοιχεί

'Order from me, the most noble Lady Nonna, to Jeremias, steward: issue to Joseph, carpenter, as wage for the *mechane* . . . one artaba of wheat, that is, wheat 1 art. only. Tybi 11, first indiction.'
 (2nd hand) 'Through me, Lady Nonna—it satisfies me.'

1 ἐντάγιον here has the original sense of 'order'. However, in documents of the fourth and fifth centuries, the term often implies that the instruction has been carried out, since the addressee of the

order was given a receipt upon delivery; hence the meaning 'receipt', which becomes common from the sixth century onwards. See CPR XXIV 4.26-7 n.; H. I. Bell, *PAPhS* 89 (1945) 533-5. For documents headed thus, see 5066 1 n.

κυρᾶ Ν[όννα εὐγ]ενεστάτη: nominatives for genitives; cf. 5 (also 2). In similar headings elsewhere the proper name stands in apposition to the genitive ἐμοῦ.

κυρᾶ. For the loss of the accented iota in forms of κύριος/κυρία, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 302 with n. 3. We may ask whether κυρᾶ was taken to be an integral part of the name (and thus treated as indeclinable: Κυρανόννα); see P. Lond. V 1762.9 (Oxy.; vi/vii) Μηρᾶ νοταρ(ίου) κυρᾶ Νόννης, and on the issue in general J. Gascou, J.-L. Fournet, *ZPE* 135 (2001) 146-9.

εὐγενεστάτη: an epithet used for fairly affluent, middle-class women; cf. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 181-6.

2 τέκτον, 1. τέκτονι. For such carpenters, see Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif* 225.

3 (ὑπὲρ) μισθοῦ μηχανῆς. For wages paid to carpenters for work on water-lifting devices, see SB XIV 12054.6-7, 11 (253), P. Mert. I 41.2-4 (406), XVI 1913 22-3 (555?), LV 3805 102, 106 (after 566), etc.

After μηχανῆς we expect the name of a place or a person.

6 στοιχοῖ: cf. XVI 1998 9 στιχοῖ. The interchange εἰ > οἰ does not seem to be very frequent; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 273.

B. LAUDENBACH

5068. RECEIPT FOR SALARY

68 6B.25/F(3)b

30 × 15 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Theodosius, deputy to Theodorus, *nomicarius*, acknowledges receipt of his salary from the *nomicarius* himself; what the salary consisted of is not stated. This deputy was clearly a private employee, discharging the duties (or part thereof) of the *nomicarius*. Such deputies are common with liturgical officials (e.g. *riparii*), but the *nomicarius* at that time was a salaried post (see LIX 3985).

Theodorus may be the same as a *nomicarius* of this name attested between 473 and 498; see 3985 4 n. (as the inventory number of 5068 indicates, it was found in the same excavation season as 3985 and 3986, but not in their immediate vicinity). If the identification holds, the date, Payni 10, indiction 10, should correspond to 4 June 487 or 501.

There are several receipts for wages from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus: LVII 3914 (519), P. Iand. III 43 (525), XXXVI 2780 (553), XVI 1992 (572), LVIII 3936 (598), XVI 2006 (vi). None of them, however, is an exact parallel to 5068, which has some structural affinities to a handful of Hermopolite receipts; see below, 3 n.

The writing is across the fibres. Back blank.

α.7] . . [α.4] . . τω ἀδελφῶ Θεοδώρω νομικαρίῳ [τῆ]ς Ὁξυρυ[γ]χιτῶν
 (vac.) Θεοδόσιος, διάδοχος τοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ νομικαρ(ίου).
 ἐπληρώθη παρὰ σοῦ τὸν κατὰ συνήθειαν παρεχόμενόν μοι μισθὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς

δεκάτη[ς] ἰνδικτίωνος, τὰ καὶ συναρέσαντα ἡμῖν, καὶ πρὸς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 πληρωθεῖς
 5 πεποίημαι τὴν ἀποχὴν. Αὐρήλιος Θεοδόσιος Ἡρωνᾶ διάδοχος ἐσεημίωμαι
 τὴν ἀποχ[ῆ]ν ὡς πρόκειται.
 (vac.) Παῦνι ι, (vac.) ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

1 ἀδελφῷ 2 νομικῶν 4 l. ἀσφάλειαν 5 l. ἐσεημίωμαι 6 l. πρόκειται
 7 ἰνδ.

'To (my) . . . brother Theodorus, *nomiciarius* of the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites. I, Theodosius, deputy of you, Theodorus, *nomiciarius*, was paid by you the wage provided to me according to custom for the tenth indiction, which we had also agreed upon; and for your security, after I was paid, I have issued the receipt. I, Aurelius Theodosius son of Heronas, deputy, have signed the receipt, as afore-said. Payni 10, indiction 10.'

1 c.7]. . [c.4]. . τφ. The letter before τφ may be alpha.

νομικάρῳ [τῆ]ς Ὀξυρυ[χ]ιτῶν. This collocation is new. A *νομικάριος νομοῦ* occurs in LV 3788 2, 12 (309), which would suggest that his duties concerned the hinterland of the city and not the city itself. However, the name of the city, now a *civitas*, could also refer to its *territorium* (cf. LXVIII 4681 7 n.). For discussions of this office, which seems to have been chiefly concerned with tax collection, see 3788 2 n. and 3985 introd.

3 ἐπληρώθην παρὰ σοῦ. Very few receipts have their main body begin with this phrase, and all of them are Hermopolite; see SPP III².1 p. lxiii with n. 109.

4 τὰ καὶ συναρέσαντα. The grammar is loose: this is meant to go back to *μισθόν*. The grammatical gender may have been influenced from an implicit *νομισμάτια*.

A. SYRKOU

5069. SALE OF WINE ON DELIVERY

47 5B.33/E(1-2)b

11.5 × 14 cm

22 April 546

An acknowledgement of receipt for the price of twenty-three jars of wine, each containing 8 sextarii; this is the transaction involved in the so-called 'sales on delivery'. The text breaks off before the sum of money paid and the conditions of delivery of the wine are given; it is of course not certain that a sum was stated. The 'seller' originates from a hamlet that was administered by the Apions at that time (see 6 n.).

There are two points of interest: the buyer is described as a 'black man and freedman', his patron being a former *primicerius* of the *schola singulariorum* who later became a monk (now deceased). Freedmen, and slaves in general, are rarities in texts of this period; see below, 9 n. The *schola singulariorum* is new in the papyri, though its attestation is nothing out of the ordinary; see 9-10 n. It was most probably part of the office of the *praeses* of Arcadia, situated at Oxyrhynchus.

The text on the front is written along the fibres:

† τοῖς τὸ δ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουίου)
 Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Φαρμουῦθι κζ,
 ἰνδικ(τίωνος) θ^Ϟ.
 Αὐρήλιος Βαλθολο[μα]ῖος υἱὸς
 5 Φιλοξένου μητρὸς Πα[χ]ῆλ ὁρμώμενος
 ἀπὸ ἐπ[ο]κίου Μεγάλης Παρορίου τοῦ Ὀξυρυγίτου
 νομοῦ Νεφερωῦτι μαύρω καὶ ἀπελευθέρω
 τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου γεναμένου
 μονάζοντος καὶ πριμικηρίου τῆς σχολῆς
 10 τῶν κυγγολαρίων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσιω[ο]ειτῶν
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ
 ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 συμπεφωνημένην καὶ ἀρέσασά[ν]
 μοι τιμὴν πλήρης οἴνου ὀκταξ[έ]στων
 15 σηκωμάτων εἴκοσι τριῶν,
 γί(νονται) οἴνου ὀκτάξ(εστα) σηκώμα[τα] κγ, ὄνπε[ρ]
 οἶν[ον παρὰ λ]η[γὸν ἀπὸ γλεύκουσ ἀδόλου

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† γρ(αμμάτιον) Βαλθολομαίου υἱοῦ Φιλ[ο]ξένου ἀπὸ [ἐποικ(ίου)
 Μεγάλης Παρορίου οἴνου (ὀκταξ(έστων) σηκ(ωμάτων) κγ

1 l. ὑπατίαν φλς 2 l. Βασιλείου λαμπρ 3 ἰνδικ 4, 18 l. Βαρ- υἱός
 8 ἰωαννου 10 l. Ἀρσιωῖτων 16 ψ οκταξ 18 γρ

'Under (the consuls) for the 4th time after the consulship of Fl. Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Pharamouthi 27, indiction 9.

'Aurelius Bartholomaeus son of Philoxenus, mother Rachel, originating from the hamlet of Great Paroriou of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Nephros, a black man and freedman of the blessed Ioannes, a former monk and *primicerius* of the *schola singulariorum* from the city of the Arsinoites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you on the spot the price jointly agreed upon and accepted by me, in full, of twenty-three eight-sextarii *sekomata* of wine, total 23 eight-sextarii *sekomata* of wine, which (I shall deliver) at the wine-press from the pure must . . .'

Back: 'Contract of Aurelius Bartholomaeus son of Philoxenus, from the hamlet of Great Paroriou, of 23 8-sextarii *sekomata* of wine.'

1-3 The postconsular count does not appear to agree with the indiction year, but this is a well-known phenomenon; it takes 543, not 542, as the first postconsular year of Basilius. See F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 232-5, 238.

4 Βαλθολο[μα]ῖος, l. Βαρ-. Cf. 18. On this lambdacism, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 102-3.

6 ἐπ[ο]κίου Μεγάλης Παρορίου. This hamlet makes its first appearance towards the end of

the fifth century, and is almost exclusively attested in documents connected with the Apion estate. That there were vineyards in its area was already known from X 1327 = SB XXII 15320.

7 *μαύρω και ἀπελευθέρω*. Nephros was probably a Nubian former slave. On 'blacks' in the papyri, see the references collected in LXVII 4629 7 n. For the issue of slavery in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus, see I. F. Fikman, *Pap. Congr. XIII* (1974) 117–24, reprinted in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im spätantiken Ägypten* (2006) 110–17.

9 *μονάζοντος και πριμικηρίου*. A civil servant who became a monk later in life; cf. the case of the Hermopolite Fl. Taurinus (π) son of Ioannes, who took religious orders after his retirement from the civil service (see BGU XVII p. xxxvi).

9–10 *πριμικηρίου χολής των κυγουλαρίων*. Several non-military *singulares*, 'dispatch riders', are mentioned in the papyri; see the literature cited in LXXII 4907 15–16 n. The *schola singulariorum* has not occurred in any other papyrus, but its existence could have been inferred from P. Mert. II 95.3 (Oxy.; v) τῶ πρημικυρίων (l. πριμικηρίω) τῶν κυκουλαρίων (l. κυγουλαρίων). It is explicitly mentioned in Cj 1.27.1, in connection with the *officium* of the *praefectus Africae* after the end of the Vandal wars; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 590–91, and B. Palme, *AnTard* 7 (1999) 106–7. The *primicerius* was the highest-standing member of the *schola*; see E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfectur seit Diokletian* (1922) 75.

14–15 *ὀκταξί[έστων] σηκωμάτων*. *Sekomata* of the 8-sextarii variety are otherwise attested in P. Mich. XV 734.16, 17 (572), and XVI 1896 19, 20 (577).

17 Restored after XLIX 3512 13–14 (492), P. Flor. I 65.8 (570/71), etc.

A. SYRKOU

5070. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT

65 6B.37/H(1–3)a

8 × 21 cm

Early seventh century

A *bucellarius* of the 'glorious household', clearly of the Apion family, acknowledges that he owes one solidus to his son, who is likewise a *bucellarius* of the Apions. The money is to be paid back when the father's allowance for clothing is due; see further 13–14 n.

The inventory number suggests that this papyrus was found close to LXXII 4931, which dates from 614 and, like 5070, attests a solidus of 18 carats on the Alexandrian standard (see 4931 13–16 n.). The ninth indiction mentioned in 5070 may correspond to 605/6 or 620/21.

The papyrus is broken off at the top, where the dating clause will have stood. It seems to be complete at the foot, which means that there was no notarial signature.

...[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].

βουκελλάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου

υἱὸς {τοῦ} Μακαρίου τοῦ μακαρι[ου]ῶτά(του) ἑξῆς

ὑπογράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς

5 Ὀξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλεως Τζίττᾳ τῶ

ἐμῶ ἐτέρῳ υἱῶ και αὐτῶ βουκελλ(λαρίω)

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου. ἔχω τε

και ὀφείλειν σοι ἀποκρότω

χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον ἔν

10 κερατίω(ν) δεκαοκτῶ Ἀλεξανδρί(ας)

γίνεται χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) ᾧ κερ(ατίων) ἡ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας). και τοῦτο

ἐτοίμως ἔχω παρασχέιν σοι

ἐν τῶ καιρῶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ

βεστίου τῆς παρούσης

15 ἐνάτης ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ἀνυπερθ(έτως).

κύριον τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) ἀπλ(οῦν)

γραφ(έν) και ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς)

ὠμολόγησα + (m.2) † Κουττας

Δωρλαητικ στοιχ(εῖ) μοι

20 τὸ γραμμάτιον

τοῦτο ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).✕

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m.3?) γραμμ(άτιον) Κουτ]τα βουκελλαρι(ίου) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου (vac.) χρ(υσοῦ)
νο(μισματίου) α κερ(ατίων) ἡ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)

2	βουκελλάριος	οικ	3	υἱός	(supralin.) ωτ ^a	4	ὑπογραφωνῖδια	1.	χειρί
5	οξυρυγγ	τζιτ'τα	6	υἱῶ	βουκελ	8	1. ὀφείλω	ἀποκροτωσ:	second ο corr. from ω
10	κερατιῶ:	ω corr. from α	1.	Ἀλεξανδρεί(ας)	11	γτχρ	ἡ κερεῖθαλεξ	15	ἰνδ' ἀνυπερθ
16	γραμμς	ἀπλ	17	γραφ	ἐπερωτηθς	19	στοιχ	21	προκ
	ενδοξ	χρ	ἡ κερεῖθαλεξ					22	βουκελλα

'... *bucellarius* of the glorious household, son of Macarius(?) the most blessed, subscribing below in his own hand, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Tzitta(s), my other son, himself too a *bucellarius* of the same glorious household. I have received and owe you without fail one gold solidus of eighteen carats on the Alexandrian standard, total 1 gold solidus of 18 carats on the Alexandrian standard. And this I am prepared to return to you when I receive the money for my clothing of the current ninth indiction without any delay. The contract, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question, I have given my consent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Kouttas Dorlaetis—this deed is satisfactory to me as aforesaid.'

Back: 'Contract of Kouttas, *bucellarius* of the glorious household, of 1 gold solidus of 18 carats on the Alexandrian standard.'

2 βουκελλάριος. See LXXII 4924 1–2 n.

3 υἱός {τοῦ} Μακαρίου τοῦ μακαρι[ου]ῶτά(του). The usual pattern is υἱός τοῦ μακαρίου/μακαριωτάτου + name. The scribe first wrote υἱός τοῦ μακαρίου μακαρίου (which of the two genitives was supposed to be the name, we cannot tell). Then he added another τοῦ above the line, and ωτα above the last letters of the second μακαρίου, perhaps intending Μακαρίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου; but

he was confused and wrote the father's name instead of the adjective *μακαριωτάτου*. It could also be that the name of the father was not written, if *Δωρλαητις* in 19 is a patronymic.

3-4 *ἑξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρὶ* (l. -ῆ). The *bucellarius*' literacy is noteworthy.

5 *Τζιττά*. On this name of uncertain origin (Thracian? Germanic? Perso-Armenian?), see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 110 with n. 33.

8 *ὀφείλειν*, l. *ὀφείλω*. The scribe probably had in mind the formula *ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν καὶ ὀφείλειν*.

13-14 *ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βεστίου*. For the Latin loanword *βεστίον* (*vestis*), 'clothing', see *Lex. Lat. Lehn.* ii 159-60. There are several references to payments of money for *vestis* in the papyri, which were additional to someone's salary (cf. P. Strasb. I 40 of 569). In our case, this expected payment will allow the repayment of the debt.

18 *Κουττας*. The name, if correctly read, is otherwise attested only in Arsinoite documents.

19 *Δωρλαητις*. This name has not occurred in any other papyrus. Above *-ητι-* there is a small horizontal, presumably meant to indicate that this is a foreign name. We have not been able to identify its origin, but given the family relation, it may be the same as that of Tzittas (see 5 n.).

A. SYRKOU

5071. LIST OF NAMES

Box 22, layer A XVI

22.5 × 16.3 cm

Ninth(?) century

Only the lower portion of what must have been a large sheet of papyrus survives, with parts of the lower margin. The fragment is torn on the left and right; its upper part has been horizontally cut or torn off. The front preserves parts of three columns of an alphabetical list of personal and biblical names, written along the fibres; on the other side (across the fibres) is a text in Arabic. The original height of the sheet may have been about 30-32 cm (see below).

The list of names is written with a blunt pen in a large and very crude and clumsy hand. Comparable hands can be found in M. Hasitzka, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht* = MPER XVIII (1990), e.g. nos. 105 (list of names, viii/ix), 109-10 (letters, viii), and the first hand of 154 (letter, viii). In R. Criboire's terminology this hand might be classed as 'evolving'; see her *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* no. 111, plate x (= P. Lund VI 11; iii/iv). It is likely therefore that this is a school exercise. The fact that there is a blank space of c.4.5 cm to the right of the last two lines of col. iii suggests that it was a loose sheet, not part of a complete collection of names from A to Ω.

Two questions now arise: the language and the date. The names could belong in a Coptic or a Greek context, and so could the letter-forms (note the q-shaped *ν* in ii 12); note also the Coptic spelling of some of the names, e.g. *Λικαβερ* (see ii 11 n.). The transcript is therefore printed without accents. The primitive script is in itself difficult to date. The Arabic on the other side, which must belong after c.650, gives a fixed point. But in fact Oxyrhynchus has produced no texts in any language from the later seventh, the entire eighth and most of the ninth centuries AD (R. A. Coles in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: a City and its Texts* (2007) 14); and

a combination there of Arabic and Coptic should belong to the ninth century at earliest (S. J. Clackson, *ibid.* 340).

Each group of names is followed by the name of their initial letter, which is underlined (but see i 8 n.). Col. i contains names beginning with H and Θ; its upper part may have listed names beginning with Z. As the lost upper part of col. ii must have contained the group of names in I and some names in K, it may have had roughly as many lines as the extant lower part, as well as the top margin. The original height of the sheet can therefore be estimated as about double that of the preserved part, i.e., about 30-32 cm. In two places the scribe added corrections below the line (col. i 9 and col. ii 3).

Alphabetic lists of words or names have been collected in MPER XVIII nos. 226-45; a similar school exercise, also a list of names beginning with Z, H, and Θ, is no. 237 (= O. Crum 431), where, however, each group of names is preceded by † and the name of the initial letter.

A number of readings and parallels have been suggested by Dr Monika Hasitzka (MH).

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	<i>traces</i>	<i>Κ . . c . [</i>	
	<i>. [.] . πα</i>	<i>Καρ . ελ[</i>	
	<i>θ]ητα</i>	<i>Κιριλλωσ [</i>	
	<i>Θ]ωμας</i>	<i>καππα [</i>	
5	<i>] . ν</i>	<i>Λουκας [</i>	
	<i>]αρ</i>	<i>Λεων [</i>	
	<i>]ςις</i>	<i>Λαδωμο[</i>	
	<i>Θ]εκλα</i>	<i>Λειοντε . [</i>	
	<i>Θ]εω[.]δωροσ</i>	<i>Λαζαρο[σ</i>	
10	<i>Θαλασσον</i>	<i>Λιβεριος</i>	<i>. [</i>
	<i>Θαπλουσ</i>	<i>Λικαβερ</i>	<i>. ο . γις</i>
	<i>Θαναηλ</i>	<i>Λουσδρια</i>	<i>Ξε . ιετην</i>
	<i>θητα</i>	<i>λαβλε</i>	
	<i>Θουωρε</i>		

col. i

2 *. [.] . πα*. The letter before *πα* may be *μ*.

4 *Θ]ωμας*: suggested by MH.

5 Perhaps *Θε]ων* (MH).

6 *Θαμ]αρ* (MH). Also in P. Lond. Copt. 972 fol. 3a (p. 401), and in the alphabetical word-list MPER XVIII 230.19.

7 *Θαη]ςις* (MH)? The name is still found in the early seventh century (P. Sorb. II 69.82 E.1; 88 B.1).

8 It is not clear why this name is underlined; could it be an indication that the name *Θουτωρε* (14) should be inserted here? Alternatively, one might speculate that the horizontal line relates to the entry below, indicating that *Θουτωρε* should be substituted for *Θεοδωρος*.

9 *Θ]εω[.]δωρος*. The cancelled letter resembles the *Ν* of *Θαναηλ* (12); if it was a *Ν*, *Θέων* was changed to *Θεωδωρος* (l. *Θεόδ-*), apparently because the scribe realized that he had written *Θέων* in 5. A correction below the line can also be seen at ii 3.

10 *Θαλασσον*: not attested, but cf. *ΘΑΛΛΑΣ* (name?) in P. Lond. Copt. 672.1; *Θαλάκειος* in O. Mich. I 111.2 (iv) and P. Iand. II 17.1 (vi/vii); *Θαλάσιος* in P. Lond. V 1722.51 (530).

11 *Θαπλοῦς*. This form of the name is quoted from BM Or. 6201A (*ΝΘΑΠΛΟΥΣ*) in P. Ryl. Copt. p. 175 n. 4.

12 *Θαναήλ*: variant form of *Ναθαναήλ*, P. Lond. IV 1491 (d) fr. 2; P. Lond. Copt. 585.12–13.

14 *Θουτωρε*: variant form of *Θεοδωρος*; cf. *ΘΟΤΟΡΕ* in O. CrumST 121; a *ΘΟΤΩΡ* occurs in P. Teschlot 2.8 (late 10th century), see T. S. Richter, *JJP* 30 (2000) 110, and his note p. 114. The name was added below the underlined *θητα*, apparently as an afterthought.

col. ii

2 *Καρ. ελ[*. There is a dot to the right of the top of the third letter, which might just possibly be a remnant of the loop of *ρ*; the next letter is very abraded, but seems compatible with *β* (*Καρβελ[ια?*). The name does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but cf. *ΚΑΡΒΗΛ(Λ)ΙΑ* in P. Vindob. K 1634: M. R. M. Hasitzka et al. (edd.), *Das Alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn: Festschrift Salzinger* (2003) p. 216 lines 7–8.

3 Read *Κύριλλος*: the second *λ* was added below the line (cf. i 9).

5 *Λογκᾶς*: suggested by MH.

7 *Λαδωμο[* (or *Λαδωμε[*): not attested; perhaps a spelling of *λατόμος* “stone-cutter” (?), but this word is never used as a personal name.

8 *Λειοντε* [: probably = *Λεόντιος* (MH).

10 *Λιβέριος*: a rare name, attested only in P. Bingen 120.40 (after 367), P. Cair. Masp. III 67325 iii r 6 (556), KSB I 242.8 *et passim* (649), and P. Apoll. 61v.16 (VII), the last two referring to the same person.

11 *Λιβαβετ*: in Greek only XVI 1877 9 (c.488), more common in Coptic; cf. P. Lond. Copt. 399 and 424, P. Ryl. Copt. 104 sect. 4, KRU 35.26, 38.11.

12 *Λουκδρία*. Possibly a version of *Υλλουστρία*, though the name is not attested, except in the form *ΠΙΛΛΟΥΣΤΡΙΟΣ*. Pace Wilcken, there is no need to assume that P. Würzb. 19.15 (622) attests the name *Υλλούστριος*.

13 *λαβλε*: read *λαβδα*; the *α* has been corrected from *ο*.

col. iii

2 . ρ. γις: one could think of *Ξόργις* (= *Σέργιος*, as in the word-list MPER XVIII 245.5). But the remains of the first letter (an apparent upright in the lower part of the line) do not suggest *Ξ* as written in 3.

3 *Ξε. ιετην*: the third letter may have been *κ* or *κ*; no explanation of this word or name seems to be available.

R.-L. CHANG

INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously unattested names and places. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* have not been indexed.

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περί 5026 ¹ i 11		-ωρεῖσθαι [5025 ² 8?]

III. RULERS

NERO

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ 5049 6-7 (year 6)

ΟΤΗΟ

Μάρκος Ὁθων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Αὐτοκράτωρ 5050 8-9 (year 1)

DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανός Σεβαστός Γερμανικός 5052 10-11 (year 7), 33-4 n. (year 6)

ANTONINUS PIUS

Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος 5053 1 (year 12)

VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανός καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανός Γαλληνός Γερμανικοί Μέγιστοι Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Κορηγίλιος Οὐαλεριανός ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοί 5058 37-9 (year 5)

PROBUS

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Σεβαστός 5061 7-8 (year 2)

VALENTINIANUS, THEODOSIUS AND ARCADIUS

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς Θεοδοσίος Ἀρκάδιος οἱ αἰώνιοι Αὔγουστοι **5064** 6-8 (oath)

IV. CONSULS

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546 τοῖς τὸ δ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **5069** 1-2

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(a) Indictions

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9th **5069** 3 (545/6) (**5070** 15) 13th **5066** 6 (459/60?)
(605/6 or 620/21) 14th **5066** 7 (460/61?)

(b) Eras

68/37 **5064** 12 (= 391/2)

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(a) Months

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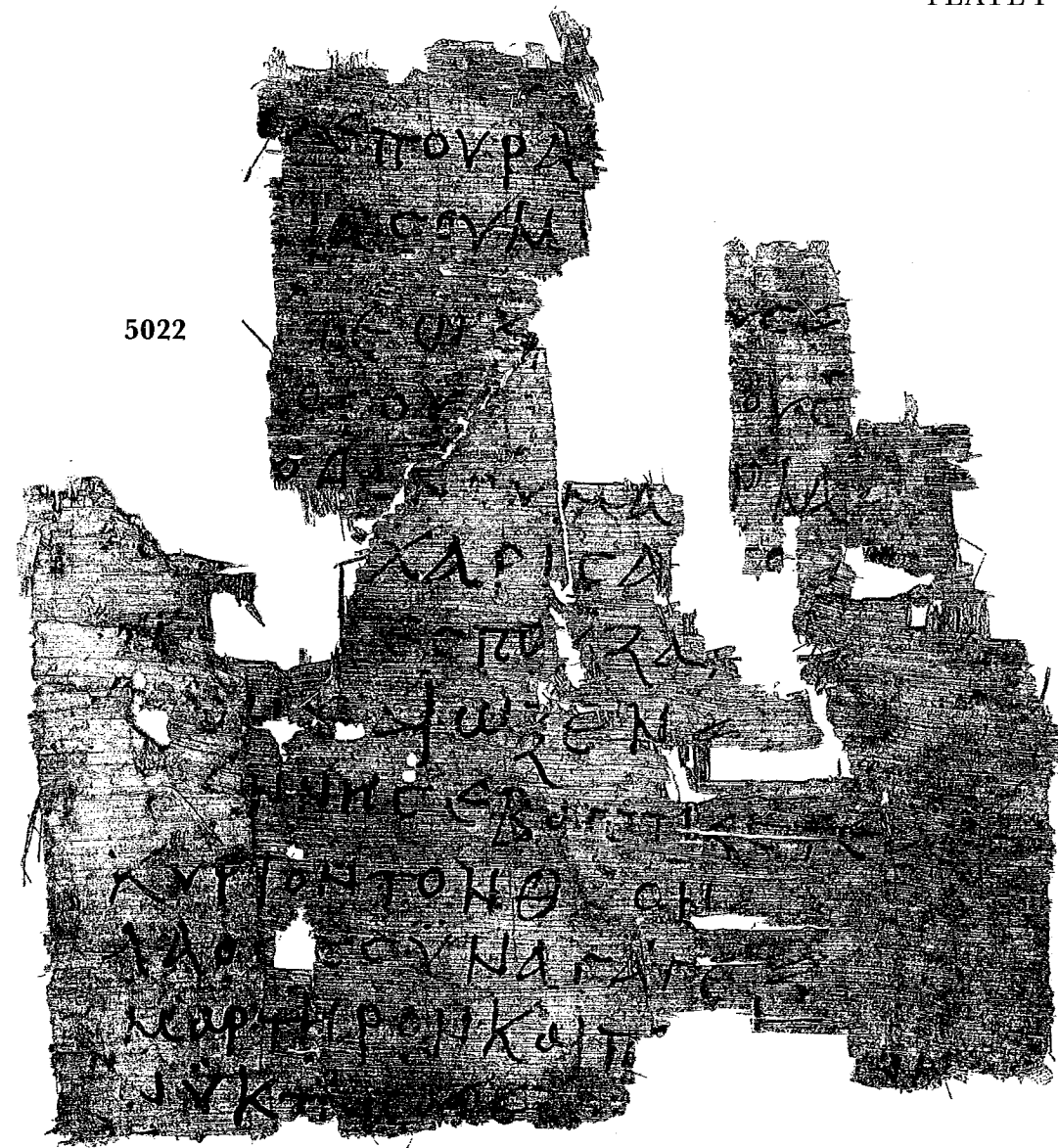
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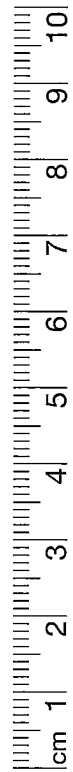
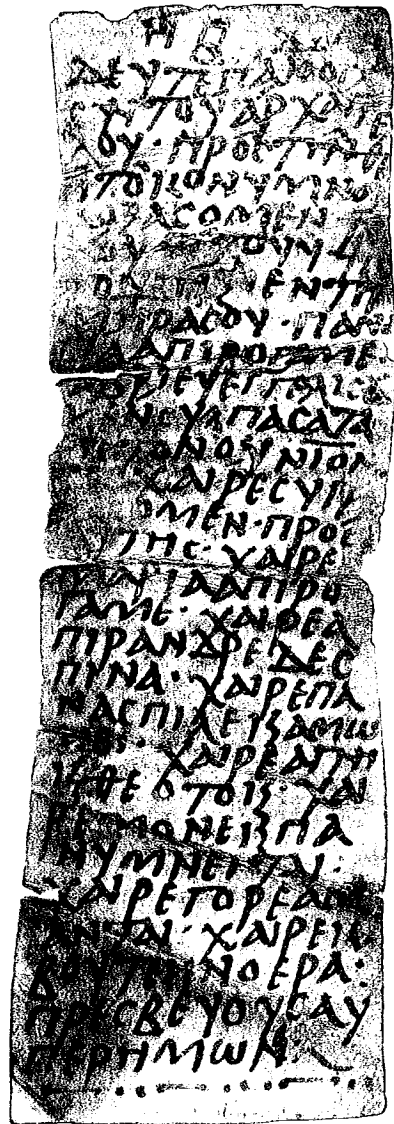
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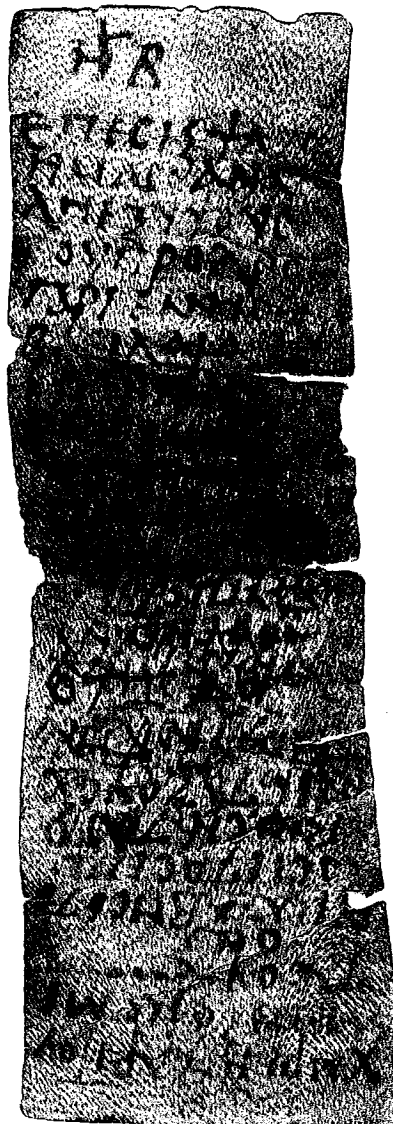


5065

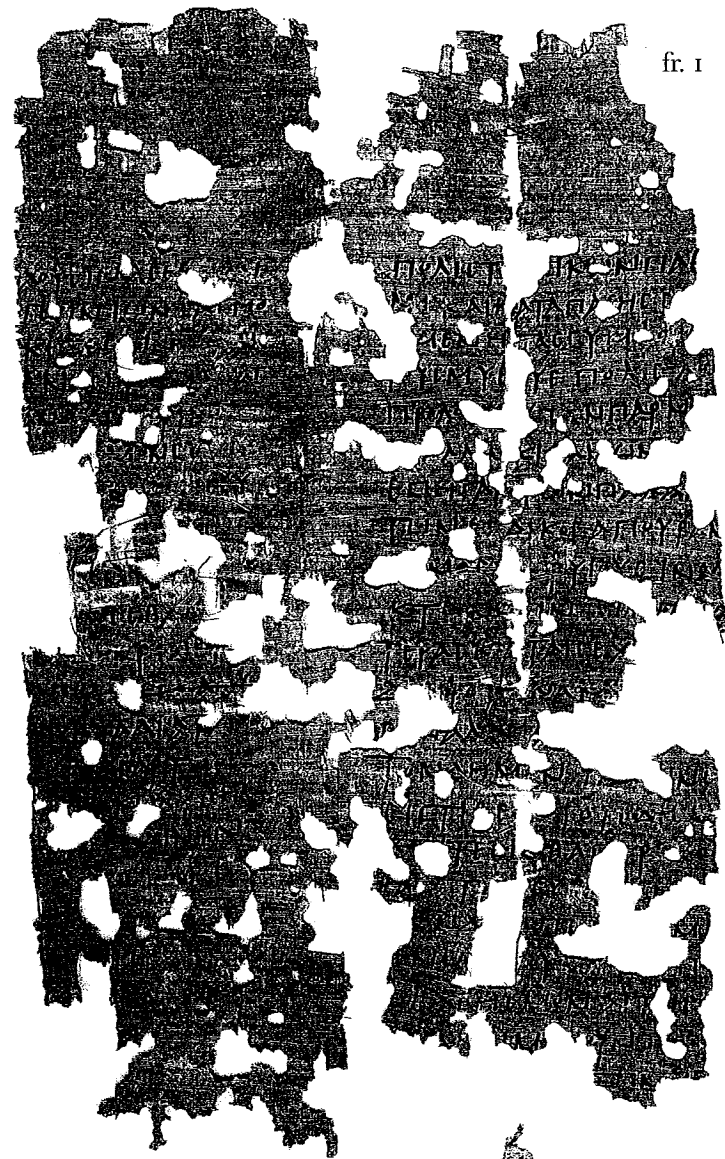


5023

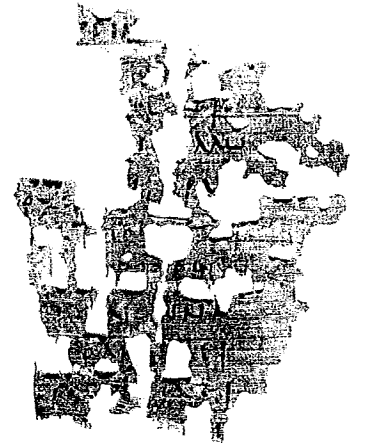
flesh side



hair side



fr. 1



fr. 2

5025

fr. 3



fr. 6



fr. 4



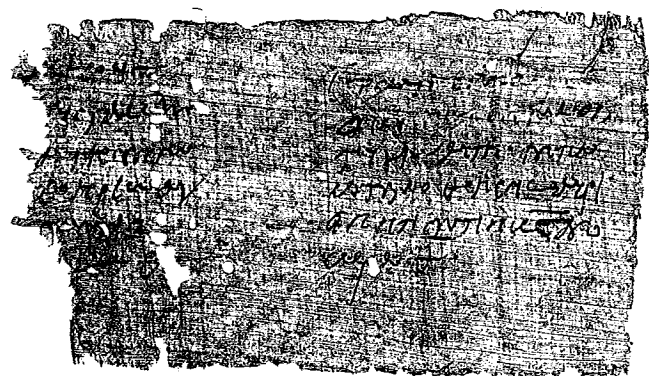
fr. 5



fr. 7



5057



5049

PLATE VI

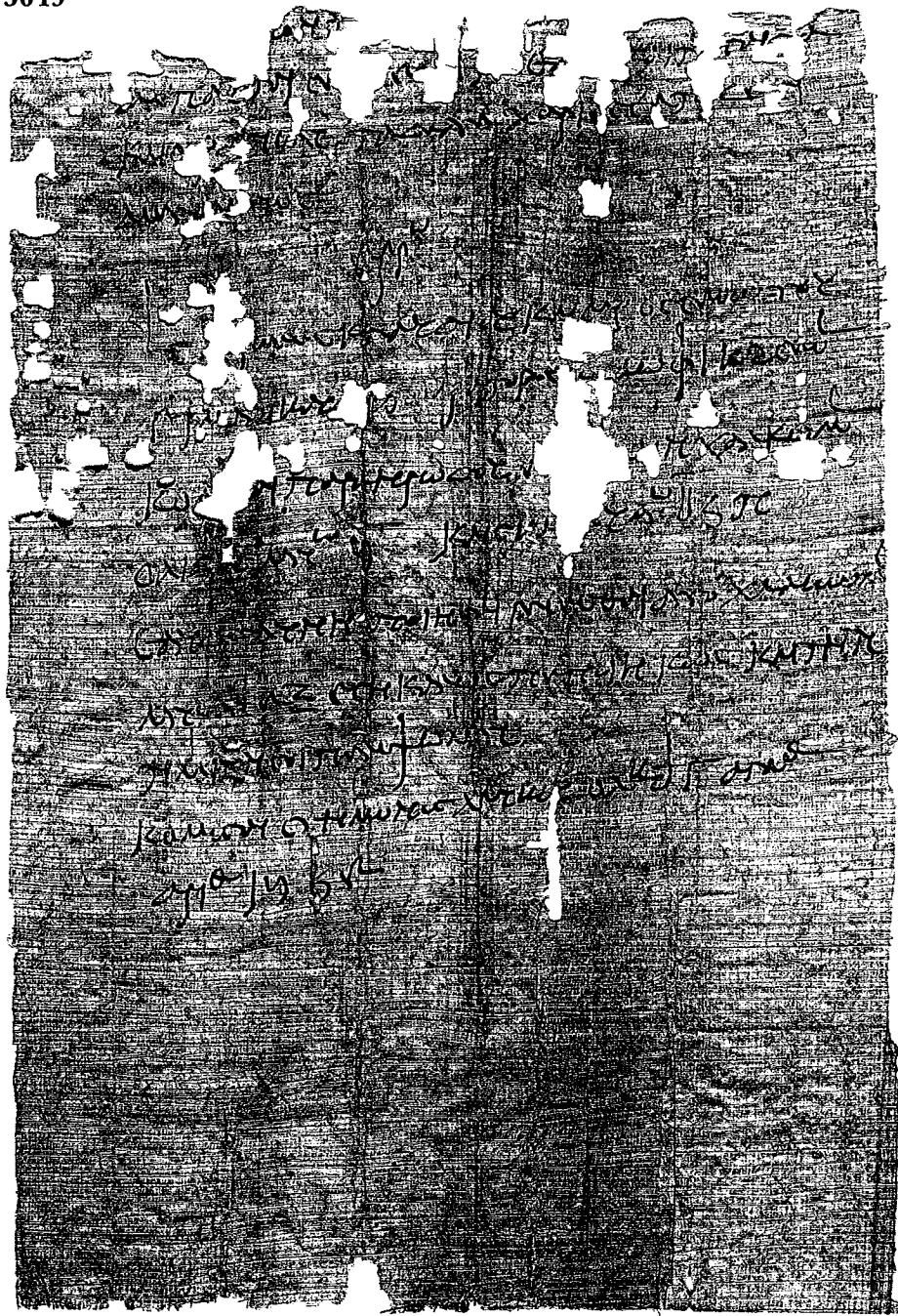
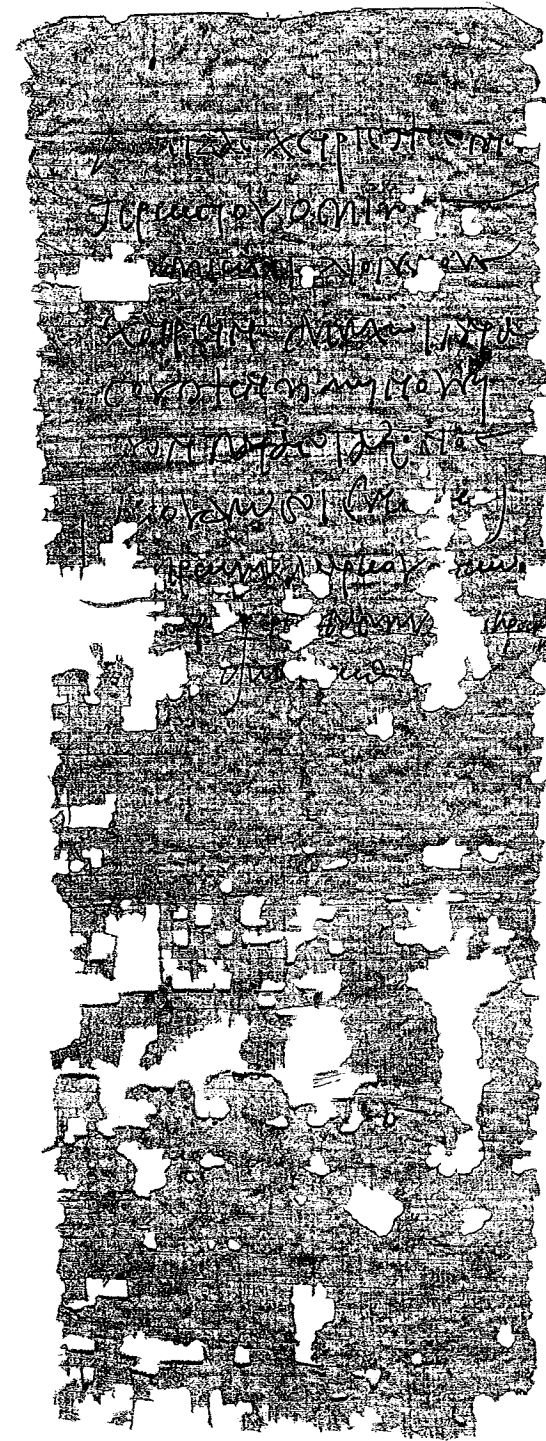
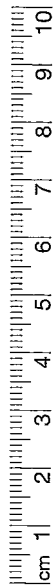


PLATE VII



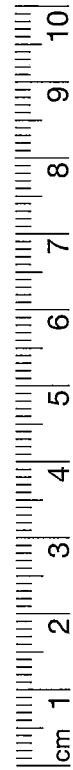
5050

[Extremely dense and mostly illegible Greek text on a narrow strip of papyrus, likely fragment 5062.]



5062 (reduced)

5
 Η ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟ
 ΕΛΕΓΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ
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 ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙΣ
 ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΟΤΙ



5063

[Fragment of ancient papyrus scroll with handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Demotic or Hieroglyphic. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The fragment is heavily damaged and stained, particularly on the right side. A vertical ruler on the left side indicates the fragment's height, ranging from 0 to 10 centimeters.]

5064 (reduced)